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G7
**NON
CIRCULATING**

William THE Cowell

HISTORY

May 1st OF 1786

ITALY,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.



Translated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of *St. Stephen*.



V O L. III.

Containing the FIFTH and SIXTH BOOKS
of the History.



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M.DCC.LIII.



Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
 O F
The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K V.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

*Continuation of the Pisan War. Valentino's
 Exploits in Romagna. Kings of France
 and Spain agree to divide the Kingdom
 of Naples between themselves. Exploits
 of the Great Captain in the Kingdom
 of Naples. Commotions in Tuscany.
 Alliance against Duke Valentino. War
 between the Swiss and French. Fight
 between Thirteen Frenchmen and Thirteen
 Italians. Battles of Terra-nuova, Se-
 minara, and Cirignola.*

THE compleat and easy Victory, *A. D.*
 which had rendered the King of *1500*
France absolute Master of the
 Dutchy of *Milan*, had so raised his
 A 2 Courage

A. D.
1500.

Cesar's
Appre-
hensions
of the
French
Power.

Courage and Ambition, that he would that very Summer have entered the Kingdom of *Naples*, had he not been prevented by the Motions of the *Germans*. For tho' the Year before he had made a Truce with *Maximilian*, in which was comprehended the Dutty of *Milan*, yet *Cesar* now reflecting how much the imperial Dignity would suffer by the Alienation of so considerable a Fief, and what just Occasion he had given for Imputations on his Honour and Gratitude by a cold Neutrality and Indifference, in tamely permitting *Lodovico* to be divested of his Dominions, while he was in a manner under his Protection, and after receiving so much Money from him, refused to admit to his Presence the *French* and *Venetian* Ambassadors, and ordered them to be told, that he should treat their Masters as Usurpers of the imperial Jurisdiction. His Resentments were much exasperated when he received News of the unhappy Fate of the Two Brothers. Their Misfortune awakened his former and hereditary Emulation, and recalled to his Mind the manifold Injuries and

Pro-

THE WARS IN ITALY. 3

Provocations he and his Ancestors had received from the Kings of *France* and from the *Venetians*. With this Disposition he called several Diets, in which he laboured to excite the Indignation of the Electors and other Princes, and kindle a Spirit of Resentment that might induce them to revenge an Affront, offered not so much to himself their Head, as to the whole *Germanic* Body. He expatiated on the Danger that might accrue to the Empire by their Patience and Forbearance; how it was to be feared that the King of *France*, emboldened by this Increase of Power, might aspire at the Empire, and by some indirect Means procure the Imperial Crown to be set, as in Times past, on the Heads of the *French* Monarchs; to which the Pope would readily agree, not only out of Necessity but Choice, as the most effectual Means of aggrandizing his Son.

THESE Proceedings put a Stop to *Lewis's* Conquests, who, doubting of the Event of *Maximilian's* Sollicitations, deferred to another Time his Expedition

A. D. 1500. against the Kingdom of *Naples*. And having no present Employ for his Troops, he was induced to grant the *Florentines* the Supply he had promised them, for the Recovery of *Pisa* and *Pietrasanta*. This Favour was not obtained without some Difficulty and Hesitation; for the *Pisans* used all Endeavours to prevent it, and were seconded by the *Genoese*, *Luccese*, and *Senese*, who made the King an Offer of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, on Condition he would oblige the *Florentines* to relinquish all Pretensions to *Pietra Santa* and *Montepulciano*; and moreover would engage to pay for ever to the Crown of *France* Fifty Thousand Ducats yearly, provided the *Pisans* were, by his Assistance, fully reinstated in their Territory, and had *Livorno* annexed to their Dominion.

THE King, tempted by these Offers, seemed disposed to comply; however he referred the Affair, as he was wont to do in Matters of great Moment, to the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who was at *Milan*. *Gianjacopo Trivulzio* and *Gianluigi Fieschi*, who were both ambitious of becoming
absolute

THE WARS IN ITALY.

7

absolute in *Pisa*, pleaded hard with the Cardinal for the *Pisans*, offering to pay the King a large Sum of Money, insinuating at the same time, that it was his Majesty's Interest to lay hold of all Opportunities to lessen the Power of the *Florentines* as well as that of the other Potentates of *Italy*.

A. D.
1500.

BUT the Cardinal was influenced more by a Regard for the King's Honour, and by his fresh Obligations to the *Florentines*, who had, it must be confessed, punctually fulfilled their Engagements: For, instead of Troops, they had supplied him with large Sums of Money, which had not a little contributed to his Recovery of *Milan*. In the Passage of the Army it was therefore resolved, to restore *Pietrasanta* and *Mutrone* to the *Florentines*, and, in the mean time to enable them to undertake the Siege of *Pisa*, to send them a Reinforcement of Six Hundred Lances at the King's Expence, besides a Body of Five Thousand *Swiss* under the Bailiff of *Dijon*, to be maintained at their own Charge, with some Companies of *Gascons*, a Train of Artillery, and a sufficient

King resolves to assist the *Florentines*.

A 4

Quantity

THE HISTORY OF

A. D.
1500.

Quantity of Ammunition. To this Force was afterwards added, contrary to the King's Intentions, and without any Demand of the *Florentines*, a further Supplement of Two Thousand *Swiss*. The Command in Chief of these Auxiliaries, at the Request of the *Florentines*, was committed to *Beaumont*, who had ingratiated himself with that People, by his readily restoring *Livorno*; tho' they ought to have considered, that Authority and Knowledge in military Affairs, are as requisite in a General as Honour and Integrity. The King, indeed, with better Foresight and Judgment, had appointed to that Post *Alagre*, who had much greater Experience, and being of a noble Family, would have commanded more Esteem and Obedience from the Soldiery.

IT was not long before the Mischiefs and Inconveniencies that attended *French* Auxiliaries began to discover themselves. For after they had received a Month's Pay, which, according to Agreement, was to begin the First of *May*, they loitered a whole Month in *Lombardy*, and employed themselves

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A. D.
1500.

themselves in what no way related to the Service. They directed their March thro' the States of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and those of the Lords of *Carpi*, *Correggio*, and *Mirandola*, in order to lay them under Contribution for having given Assistance to *Lodovico*. But the *Florentines*, grew jealous of these Delays which gave their Enemies so much Time to make Preparations, that it was thought the Siege of *Pisa* must have been deferred to another Year. It was, however, resolved to make one Step more, and advance another Payment, in hopes to quicken their March. At the Intercession of the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Contributions of the Lords of *Carpi*, *Correggio*, and *Mirandola* were settled at Twenty Thousand Ducats; and as for the Marquis of *Mantoua*, he excused himself, alledging, that it was not in his Power to raise any Money; and, at the same Time, he sent Ambassadors to the King of *France*, to ask Pardon for his Offence. *Beaumont*, not thinking fit to wait for the King's Orders on that Head, proceeded with his Army to *Montechiarucoli*, a Castle in the *Par-*
mesan,

A. D. *mesan*, belonging to the Family of the
 1500. *Torrelli*, who had also favoured *Lodovico*.
 Here he encamped, not so much with a
 View of punishing the Inhabitants, as of
 striking Terror, by his Approach to *Bo-*
logna, into *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who,
 having sided with *Sforza*, was glad to
 compound for Forty Thousand Ducats,
 on Payment of which he and the City of
Bologna were received into the King's
 Protection, but with Condition, that it
 should not any wise prejudice the Rights
 of the Church to that City.

Bentivo-
glie and
Bologna
 taken into
 the King's
 Protection

AFTER the General had thus settled
 with *Bentivoglio*, and forced *Montechiarucoli*,
 he proceeded towards the Apennines, in
 his Way to *Pontremoli*. As soon as he
 had entered the *Lunegiana*, moved more
 by Lucre than a Sense of Justice, at the
 Instigation of the *Fregosi*, he seized on
Massa, and all the Territories belonging
 to *Alberigo Malespina*, tho' this Marquis
 was under the Protection of the *Florentines*.
 When the Army arrived before *Pietra-*
santa, the Place was surrendered to them
 by the *Luccese*, contrary to the Inclina-
 tions

French
 seize on
Massa.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 11

tions of the Inhabitants, who rose on *A. D.*
 this Occasion. *Beaumont* put a French ^{1500.}
 Garrison in the Castle, but left the Town
 in Possession of the *Lucchese*; for the
 Cardinal of *Rouen*, notwithstanding the
 King's Stipulations with the *Florentines*,
 had accepted a Sum of Money from the
Lucchese, and received them into his Ma- *Lucchese*
 jesty's Protection, it being agreed that ^{received}
 the said Castle should be deposited in the ^{into the}
 Hands of the King, till he had deter- ^{King's}
 mined to whom that Place belonged. ^{Protection}

THE *Pisans* were resolved to defend
 their Liberties to the last Extremity, and
 had put themselves under the Direction
 and Conduct of *Vitellozzo*, who bore as
 great a Hatred to the *Florentines* as them-
 selves. That brave Officer procured able
 Engineers to regulate their Fortifications,
 which were carried on with the utmost
 Vigour, Women as well as Men promif-
 cuously working on them without ceasing.
 The Citizens neglected nothing that
 might move the Hearts, and conciliate
 the Affections of the *French*. In a full
 Assembly,

D. 4. Assembly, they passed a Decree, declaring
1500.

Declare
them-
selves Sub-
jects of
France.

themselves Subjects of the King of *France*, and had the same confirmed by a public Instrument drawn according to Law, a Copy of which was sent first to *Beaumont*, and then to *Philip de Ravestein*, who unadvisedly accepted it in the King's Name. As soon as *Beaumont* received the Instrument, he sent a Herald to demand the Surrender of the Town. The *Pisans* answered, that they wished nothing more than to become the King's Vassals, and were willing to comply, on Condition that he would engage for their Security, that they should not afterwards be delivered into the Hands of the *Florentines*. The very Woman also, a moving Sight, all bathed in Tears, addressed the Herald, assuring him that they had no other Ambition than to resign their Freedom to that Crown which first set them at Liberty *. But *Beaumont* refused to admit the

* The *Pisans* offered to deposit their City in the Hands of the *French* for Four Months, on Condition they would not deliver it to the *Florentines* during that Time; but the *Florentines* distrusting the King, would not hearken to the Proposal. *Florentine Hist.* Book II. p. 38.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 13

the Deputies sent by the *Pisans* to treat with him on these Conditions: A. D. 1500.

ON June 29th, the *French* opened the Trenches between the Gate that faces the Hills and the Gate *Calcesana*, over against the Point called *Barbagianni*. At Night the Battery began to play, and continued most part of the next Day, making a Breach in the Wall Sixty Braces*. The Fire then ceasing, the Besiegers in great Numbers, Horse and Foot promiscuously, crowded to the Assault. But no Orders had been given, or Provision made for passing a wide and deep Ditch, which the Besieged had dug between the Wall and a Rampart they had also raised. The *French*, who had penetrated to the Ditch, were here put to a full Stop, and passed the Remainder of the Day in Astonishment at the Danger that lay before them, without making any further Attempt.

FROM this Time the *Florentines* began to despair of Success; for when the *French* were returned to their Camp, and had taken

* A *Florentine* Brace is Twenty Three *English* Inches.

A. D. taken into Consideration the Vastness of
 1500. the Ditch, with the Strength of the Rampart and other Fortifications, and above all the Courage and Obstinacy of the Besieged, their Spirits began to cool, and abate much of their military Ardor. Besides, by frequent Access and Conversation with the Citizens they grew familiar with them, and were touched with Compassion at their Misfortunes, thinking it hard and cruel to oppress People that offer'd to become their Vassals. The Inter-course between the Camp and Town grew every Day more open, and Multitudes went to and fro as they would among Friends. Some of the *French* encouraged the *Pisans* to make Resistance, and when returned to their Camp would plead their Cause before the Officers. And not only the *French*, but *Francesco Trivulzio*, Lieutenant Colonel of *Gianjacopo's* Regiment, and *Galeazzo Pallavicino*, Colonel of a Regiment at this Siege, two Officers of distinguished Merit, interceded with the same compassionate Regard for the *Pisans*:

IN

IN the mean Time *Vitellozzo* had sent Orders to *Tarlatano*, of *Citta di Castello*, to come to the Assistance of the *Pisans* with some disciplined Men. These Troops entered *Pisa* at the Sea Gate, without Opposition from the *French*. *Tarlatano* was at that Time a Man of no Note or Eminence, but being afterwards advanced to the Rank of a Captain, he so signalized himself in the Defence of *Pisa*, during all the Time of the Siege, that he acquired the Name of a gallant Officer.

THIS Intercourse with the Enemy occasioned many Disorders. The *French* seized on the Provisions that were coming to their own Camp, and grew refractory to the Commands of their General. The Spirit of Sedition increased every Day, till at last the *Gascons* in a tumultuary Manner left the Army, and their Example was soon followed by the rest of the Auxiliaries: Some *German* Infantry, who, by the King's Orders, had been sent from *Rome* to assist at this Siege, seized on *Luca Albizi* the *Florentine* Commissary, under Pretence that they had not received their Arrears

A. D. Arrears for their Service at *Livorno* *.

1500.

The *Swiss* and the rest of the Foot went quite off; the *French* Lances continued a few Days in the Neighbourhood of *Pisa*, waiting for the King's Orders. But they were soon weary of their Situation, and returned into *Lombardy*, leaving their Friends the *Florentines* in sad Distress, for they had disbanded most of their own Forces, that they might be punctual in their Payments to the *Swiss* and *Germans*.

Pisans
take *Librasatta*.

THE *Pisans* took Advantage of these Disorders, and sent out part of their Army to besiege *Librasatta*, which soon submitted, thro' the ill Conduct of the Defenders, and the Resolution of the Assailants; for while all the Garrison was crowding to the Place where the Assault was given; some few of the *Pisans*, by the Help of long Ladders, got within the Place on another Side, where the Walls were so high, that an Attack was not expected, which so-intimidated the Besieged that they surrendered at Discretion; as did soon

* *Luca* paid One Thousand Three Hundred Ducats for his Ransom.

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soon after the Garrison of *Ventura*, thro' ^{A. D. 1500.} the Cowardice or Treachery of the Governor of that Fort, *San Brandano*, who was a *Lucchese*. These little Conquests were of great Consequence to the *Pisans*, by giving them more Room to open a Communication with *Lucca*.

THE Behaviour of the Kings Troops at *Pisa*, occasioned him a great deal of Uneasiness, on account of the Dishonour it brought on his Arms. He could not bear the Thoughts that his Forces, which had over-run so great a Part of *Italy* without Opposition, should now be baffled by a single Town, defended only by its own People, and under no Commander of Eminence. But as it is natural on such Occasions to seek Relief by extenuating the Evil, as not proceeding from our own Neglect or Want of Foresight or Conduct, he was willing to deceive himself, and ascribed the Miscarriage to the *Florentines*, who did not supply his Troops with Provisions and Stores, nor provide a sufficient Number of Pioneers. Such were the Excuses made by his Officers, who

Vol. III. B would

A. D. 1500. would persuade his Majesty that his Troops had been deprived of every Thing but their Courage. *Lewis* also thought he had just Reason to complain of the Imprudence of the *Florentines*, in chusing *Beaumont* for their General, when he had designed *Alegre*, who was a more proper Person, and under whom none of those Inconveniencies would have happened. On the other Hand, he was desirous of retrieving his lost Credit, and for that Purpose dispatched *Corcou*, his Chamberlain to *Florence*, not so much to inform himself of the Truth of what was alledged by his Officers, as to hearten and animate the *Florentines* with the Hopes of better Success for the Future, and to desire their Consent for ordering his Lances to return into the *Pisan*, and to take up their Quarters there, for harassing the City of *Pisa* during the Winter. That early in the Spring he himself would come in Person with a powerful and well conducted Army, more than sufficient to reduce the City of *Pisa* to their Obedience. But the *Florentines*,

Corcou sent
to *Flo.*
rence.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 19

tines, despairing of any good Effects from *A. D.*
French Promises and *French* Armies, re- ^{1500.}
 jected the King's Offers, which put their
 Affairs in a worse Situation than ever.
 For when it was known that the King of
France was no way interested in their Con-
 cerns, the *Genoese*, *Senese*, and *Lucchese*,
 made no Scruple of openly assisting the
Pisans with Men and Money.

THE Disorders also daily increased in
Florence among the Citizens, which not
 only prevented their Attention to the Re-
 covery of what they had lost, but disabled
 them from applying proper Remedies to-
 wards the Cure of their domestic Divi-
 sions. For in the City of *Pistoia* the
 two Factions of the *Panciatici* the *Can-*
cellieri took up Arms, and hiring some ^{Disturb-}
 Troops in the nature of Regulars, had ^{ances in}
 frequent Skirmishes in several Parts of the ^{*Pistoia.*}
 Country, to the Destruction of many
 good Subjects, and the great Scandal of
 the Government, for not exerting itself
 in stopping the Progress of so mischievous
 a Combustion.

A. D.

1500.

ALL this while the Affairs of *Cæsar Borgia* went on very prosperously. For tho' the King of *France*, dissatisfied with the Pope for lending him no Assistance when he invaded the *Milaneſe*, had delayed the March of his Troops which were to assist as Auxiliaries in the Prosecution of the War against the Vicars of *Romagna*, he now saw Reason to alter his Mind, not thinking it prudent to disoblige his Holiness at a Juncture when he lay under Apprehensions from the *Germans*, who would hearken to no Terms of Accommodation; besides, he was willing to befriend the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who aspired to the Dignity of Legate of the Kingdom of *France*, and advised him by all Means to cultivate a good Understanding with the Pope.

ALEXANDER, on his Part, to cherish this good Disposition in *Lewis*, engaged to assist him with the Forces, and the Person of his Son *Valentino*, whenever he should think fit to undertake an Expedition against the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, at his

THE WARS IN ITALY. 21

his Request, *Rouen* Legate of *France* *A. D.*
1500.
for the Term of eighteen Months, but
with an Exemption of *Britany* from Cardinal
his Jurisdiction. This Concession, as it *Rouen* Le-
gate of
France.
was a new Thing, and considerably di-
minished the Pope's Revenues and In-
terest in that Kingdom, was esteemed
a singular Favour. The King in re-
turn assisted his Holiness with Three Hun-
dred Lances and Two Thousand Foot,
under *Alegre*, and published a Declara-
tion, signifying that he should look upon
as Enemies whoever opposed the Under-
takings of the Pope.

VALENTINO, under Favour of this
Declaration, with his Body of Auxiliaries,
and his own Forces, which last consisted of
Seven Hundred Men at Arms and Six
Thousand Foot, entered *Ramagna*, and took *Valenti-*
no's Suc-
cess.
Possession of *Pesaro* and *Rimini* without
Resistance, the Vicars of those Cities hav-
ing taken their Flight. From hence he
directed his March towards *Faenza*, which
had no other Defendants than its own
Citizens; for *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who
was Grandfather by the Mother's Side to
B 3 the

A. D.
1500.

Afforre now past his Childhood, declined to assist him, both out of Fear lest the Pope and his Son should turn their Arms against himself, and also because he had received the King's Orders to the contrary. For the same Reasons the *Florentines* and the Duke of *Ferrara* did not offer their Assistance; and even the *Venetians*, tho' bound to defend the Infant Lord, gave Notice that they had, at the King's Request, withdrawn their Protection, as they had, for the same Reason, before done from *Pandolfo Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimini*. And the more effectually to convince the Pope of their hearty Affections in Favour of his Cause, they at the same Time created *Valentino* a Nobleman of *Venice*; an Honour never bestowed by the Republic but in acknowledgment of public Benefits received, or as a Token of firm and lasting Friendship.

Is erected
a Noble-
man of
Venice.

VALENTINO had listd into his Service *Dionigi di Naldo da Bersigbella*, a Man of great Interest in *Valdalamona*, by whose Assistance he easily got Possession of the Town of *Bersigbella*, and of almost all that

THE WARS IN ITALY. 23

that Valley; and having besieged and taken ^{A. D. 1500.} the old Castle, he became Master of the new Castle by Treaty. He was in Hopes also that by Means of this *Dionigi's* Correspondence with the Governor of the Castle of *Paenza*, a Native of the same Valley, and who for a long Time had governed the State of *Astorre*, he should get Possession of that Fortrefs. But the Plot being discovered, the *Faentino's* imprisoned the Governor, and were not dismayed, tho' they saw themselves abandoned by all, and deprived of their Valley, a Loss of great Importance to them, but resolved to run all Hazards, for preserving themselves in Subjection to the Family of the *Manfredi*, under which they had continued for a long Series of Years; and with this View they applied all their Art and Diligence to fortify their City.

VALENTINO finding them resolved on Resistance, and not to be moved by Promises nor Threats, opened the Trenches before the Place, between the Rivers *Lamona* and *Marzano*, and planted his ^{Siege of Paenza.} Batteries

A. D.

1500.

Batteries on the Side towards *Forli*, which is called the Suburb, tho' it is surrounded by a Wall and had a strong Bastion, which the Besieged had newly erected. After making a sufficient Breach, especially at the great Gate between the Suburb and the Town, the Duke on the Fifth Day of the Siege, ordered an Assault; but the Besieged behaved with such Resolution that the Assailants were repulsed with great Slaughter, and among the rest of *Ossorio Savello*. For some Days following the Besiegers were greatly incommoded by the Cannon of the Place, and by frequent Sallies, tho' there was but a very small Number of hired Troops in the Town. But more intolerable was the Severity of the Season above what was usual in the Month of *November*, for there fell deep Snows, and the Frosts were very pinching and incommodious to all military Operations, especially to those who were obliged to lodge in the open Air, for the *Faventines* had taken Care, before the Place was invested, to destroy all the Houses, and cut down all the Trees in the Neighbourhood. These Difficulties and Inconveniences obliged the Duke to raise the Siege

Siege on the Tenth Day, and put his ^{A. D.} Troops into Winter Quarters, in the ^{1500.} Towns and Villages round about; to his Siege of no small Mortification, when he considered that besides the *French* Forces, his Army consisted of the Flower of the *Italian* Officers and Soldiers; for he had under his Command *Pagolo* and *Giulio Orsini*, *Vitellozzo*, and *Gian Pagolo Baglioni*, and many other chosen Captains; and had flattered himself, in his vain Imagination, that neither Seas nor Mountains could stop the Course of his Victories. Hence he was extremely chagrined at seeing the Fame of his military Skill, and warlike Preparations, eclipsed at his very first setting out, and all his sanguine Hopes defeated before a little defenceless Town, by a People enervated with long Peace, and who had but a Child for their Chief. Full of Indignation he drew off, frequently fighting, and swore with a deep Oath that as soon as the Season permitted, he would lead his Troops on the same Enterprize, with a Resolution either to conquer or die.

IN

A. D.
1500.

IN the mean time *Alexander*, that all his Actions of Life might correspond, this Year, made a most scandalous Promotion of Twelve Cardinals, not of such as had the most Merit, but of those that offered the most Money. And that he might omit no Opportunity of serving his avaricious Purposes, he published throughout *Italy* and foreign Countries the Jubilee, which had been celebrated at *Rome* by a vast Concourse of People, especially of the Ultramontanes, with Indulgence to all those who had not chosen to visit *Rome* on this Occasion, to partake of the Benefit of the Jubilee, on paying a certain Sum of Money. * The Produce of this Indulgence, together with whatever Sums could be raised out of spiritual Profits and Emoluments, or the temporal Dominions of the Church, did the holy Father remit to his Son *Valentino*, who had taken up his Winter-Quarters in *Perli*, and was preparing all Things

* The Pope got out of the *Venetian* State, by this Jubilee, 799 Pounds of Gold, which he promised to expend in fitting out Twenty Gallies for the Defence of the *Venetians*. *Bembo*.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 27

Things necessary for the Siege of *Faenza*,
as soon as the Season of the Year per-
mitted; nor were the *Faentines* less
diligent in repairing their Fortifications,
and putting their City in a good State of
Defence.

A. D.
1500.

SUCH were the Transactions of the
Year 1500; but Designs of much greater
Importance were formed by the King of
France for the ensuing Year. That
Prince, in order to facilitate the Execu-
tion of his Enterprizes, continued his
Applications for concluding a Peace with
the King of the *Romans*, by which he
might obtain of him the Investiture of
the Duchy of *Milan*, and he left at
Liberty to pursue his Design upon *Naples*.
For this Purpose he had recourse to the
Mediation of the Archduke, Son to
Maximilian, a Prince of a pacific Temper,
whose Subjects the *Flemings* were utterly
averse to a War with *France*, which
would interrupt their Commerce. And
as the King had no male Issue, he pro-
posed to give his Daughter *Clouise* in
Marriage to *Charles*, Son of the Archduke,
and

1501.

A. D.
1501.

and with her as a Dowry the Dutchy of *Milan*, as soon as they should be of an Age proper to consummate the Matrimony; for both she and *Charles* were at that time under Three Years old. In the Course of this Mediation, tho' there were many Points that offered to be adjusted, and many Difficulties to be removed that obstructed the Way to a firm and lasting Peace, yet at length *Maximilian* was induced to make a Truce with the King for several Months, to begin with the Year

Truce between
Maximilian
and
the King
of France.

1501, for which the King paid a Sum of Money. In this Truce no mention was made of the King of *Naples*, tho' *Maximilian* had received of that Prince Forty Thousand Ducats, besides his Obligation to a further Allowance of Fifteen Thousand Ducats a Month, if Occasion required, in consideration of which *Maximilian* had engaged to enter into no Agreement with *Lewis*, without including *Naples*, and if a War should happen, to make a Diversion in his Favour, by invading the Dutchy of *Milan*.

THE King of France, now thinking
himself

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himself in Security from any Attempts on A. D. 1501.
the Side of *Germany*, and in hopes that he should, by means of the Archduke, in a short time obtain the Investiture and the Peace he so earnestly desired, turned all his Thoughts to execute his Design on *Naples*. But being apprehensive that he should be opposed by the *Spanish* Sovereigns, with whom the *Venetians*, and perhaps also the Pontiff, out of Jealousy of his Greatness, might be tempted to join, he resolved to renew the Negotiation, begun by the late King *Charles*, for a Partition of that Kingdom between them, to which King *Ferdinando* of *Spain* pretended also a Title. For tho' *Alfonso* King of *Aragon* had acquired that Coun-
try by a Right distinct from that by which he held his Kingdom of *Arragon*, and on that account disposed of it to his natural Son *Ferdinando* as his own Property, yet his Brother *Giovanni*, who succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, and also *Giovanni's* Son and Successor *Ferdinando*, down to this present Time, never laid aside their Pretences, but thought they had Reason to believe that the Kingdom
of

Pretensions of the Kings of Arragon on Naples.

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of *Naples*, being acquired at the Expence of the Blood and Treasure of *Aragon*, it rightfully appertained to that Crown. These Pretensions had *Ferdinando*, with all the Subtilty and Patience of a *Spaniard*, kept in reserve, and not only cultivated a good Understanding with *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, and his Successors, by doing them all the kind Offices that are due and decent from near Relations one towards another, but also corroborated the former Ties of Blood by new Affinities. For he gave his Sister *Giovanna* in Marriage to *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; and afterwards gave his Consent that her Daughter should be married to young *Ferdinando*; yet under all this Diffimulation his covetous Ambition was for a long time no Secret to the *Neapolitan* Kings.

THE two Kings then concurring in their Inclinations and Projects, *Lewis*, Kings of *France* and *Spain* willing to remove at once all Difficulties agree on a Division of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which might attend violent Measures, and *Ferdinando* seeking to gratify in some Measure the ambitious Desire, he had long entertained, by the Acquisition of Part of that Country,

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Country, since he had as yet no Opportunity of seizing on the Whole, it was agreed that both of them should attack the Kingdom of *Naples* at the same time, and, after conquering it, to divide the Land between them. By this Partition the King of *France* was to have the City of *Naples* with the whole *Terra di Lavoro*, and the Province of *Abruzzo*,* leaving to *Ferdinando* the Provinces of *Puglia* and *Calabria*; and each Prince was to conquer his own Share, without an Obligation from the other to assist him, but only not to hinder him; but above all particular Care was to be taken that this Convention should be kept a Secret till the *French Army*, designed for that Service, should be arrived at *Rome*; at which Time the Ambassadors of both Powers at that Court were to offer their Reasons in Justification of this Convention, as that it was designed for the Safety and Benefit of *Christendom*, and for the more effectual restraining and acting offensively against the Infidels; that they should jointly request

* The Province of *Abruzzo* is divided into higher and lower *Abruzzo*, called, sometimes, *The Abruzzi*.

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quest of his Holiness their Investitures, according to their respective Shares allotted them by this Convention; *Ferdinando* to be invested with the Title of Duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and the King of *France* with the Title, not of *Sicily* as heretofore, but with that of *Jerusalem* and *Naples*. The Title of King of *Jerusalem* was formerly obtained by *Frederick II*, a *Roman* Emperor and King of *Naples*, in Dowry with his Wife, Daughter of *Giovanni* titular King of *Jerusalem*, and has been ever since assumed by the Kings of *Naples*, tho' at the same time the Kings of *Cyprus* of the Family of *Lusignana* have, on various Pretences, appropriated that Title to themselves. So ready are Princes to assume Titles and Appellations, which may, when Opportunity serves, furnish them with a colourable Pretence for turning the right Owner out of his lawful Possessions. In pursuance of this Convention between the two Kings, the King of *France* began to make open Preparations of War.

IN

IN the Beginning of this Year *Valentino* made an Attempt on the Suburb of *Faenza* by Night, with a great Number of scaling Ladders, trusting, as was supposed, to some Intelligence he held in that Place; but his Design miscarried. After this he had no hopes of succeeding by Treachery, but having first taken *Ruffi* and some other Towns in that Territory, he came with his Army early in the Spring before *Faenza*, and opened the Trenches on the Side of the Castle. A Breach being made, he ordered the *French* and *Spaniards* in his Pay to give the Assault promiscuously, which they performed in so disorderly a Manner, that they were forced to retire without Effect. But three Days after he stormed the Breaches with his whole Army, in the beginning of which *Vitellozzo* and the *Orsini*, followed by the choicest of their Troops, behaved with such Courage and Order, and advanced so far within the Works, as gave Hopes that the Place would be carried. But the Valour of the Defendants was no less conspicuous, and their Entrenchments

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were very strong, so that the Assailants having before their Eyes a vast Ditch, and their Flank exposed to the Fire of a numerous Artillery, were constrained to retreat, with the Loss of *Ferdinando da Farnese*, and many others of Note, besides a great Number wounded. But the *Faventine*s, who had also suffered considerably in the Attack, began seriously to consider that as they saw themselves abandoned by all the World, it would be impossible to sustain the Force of so great an Army, and what Destruction or intolerable Impositions they must expect, if the Place were taken by Storm, or constrained by the utmost Necessity to submit to the Mercy of the Conqueror. By such Reflections the Ardor of the Besieged began to cool, and Fear succeeding in its Room had such Influence, that after a few Days the City was surrendered to *Valentino*, on condition that the Inhabitants should be safe in their Persons and Effects, and that their Lord *Astorre* might have free Liberty to retire whither he pleased, enjoying the Revenues of his own proper Estate unmolested. These Conditions *Valentino* punctually performed

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formed as far as concerned the Inhabitants of *Faenza*; but *Astorre*, who was under Eighteen, and very beautiful, neither Youth nor Innocence had Power to protect from the Perfidy and Cruelty of the Conqueror, who, on Pretence of honouring his Court, retained him near his Person, and for a while treated him with all the Marks of Respect. But not long after the unhappy Victim was conducted to *Rome*, where after a certain Person, as the Report went, had first satiated his Lust upon him, he was, together with his natural Brother, privately put to Death.

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Tragical
Fate of
Astorre.

VALENTINO having reduced *Faenza*, decamped and marched towards *Bologna*, having formed a Design not only to make himself Master of that City, but after that to harass and plague the *Florentines*, who were already much on the Decline, having given the *French* King fresh Cause for Discontent. For, distressed with the great Expences they had been at, and still were labouring under, to maintain the War against *Pisa*, and what further Troops they thought necessary to secure themselves against

A. D. 1501. gainst the Pope and *Valentino*, of whom they had a Jealousy, they had neglected to pay the King, after all the Instances he made, the Remainder of the Sum lent them by the Duke of *Milan*; nor yet what he pretended was owing on account of the *Swiss* who were sent against *Pisa*, the Siege of which they quitted long before they had served the time for which they had been paid in advance; the *Florentines* on this Account had refused, on their Departure to let them have an extraordinary pay that had been stipulated by the Cardinal of *Rouen*, at *Milan*, they should receive on their Return; but the King desirous of keeping this Nation in his Interest, had paid the Sum they demanded out of his own Coffers, and now with Acrimony insisted that the *Florentines* should reimburse him, without hearkening to any Excuses they made, of their Inability of raising the Money. But this Affair was not duly attended to, on Account of the civil Broils, arising from the Disorders in the popular Government, which had no Person of any Weight at the Head of their Affairs, and many of the principal Citizens were suspected,

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ted, either of being Friends to the *Medici*, or desirous of another Form of Government. Hence all Proceedings were carried on in a confused and disorderly Manner, and not under the Regulation of wise Counsels, and sober Resolutions, and no Provision was made for satisfying the King's Demand, till the Term of Payment, which he had prolonged at their Request, was expired. This Disappointment put the King in a Rage, and now he not only insisted on the speedy Payment of the Money, but on the Forces stipulated for the *Neapolitan* Expedition; for tho' they were not obliged by the Articles to furnish these Auxiliaries before the Reduction of *Pisa*, yet he pretended to have done what in him lay to effect it, and that it was their own Fault that it had not been reduced. The King was exasperated against the *Florentines*, either on account of the Money, of which he was naturally covetous, or provoked beyond Measure to find himself disappointed of his Expectations; and perhaps he had persuaded himself that through the Disorders of the Government, and the Multitude of the Friends

A. D. 1501. of the *Medici*, he was not to expect much Advantage to his Affairs from his Alliance with their Republick. Wherefore thinking to obtain his Ends rather by rough than gentle Methods, where he found his Authority of so little Influence, he spoke publicly, in harsh Terms, to the *Florentine* Ambassadors, who were near his Person, and told them, that he was no longer bound to their Protection; for since they had not fulfilled the Articles of the Treaty of *Milan*, but neglected the Payment of the Money at the Time appointed, according to Agreement, he was not obliged to observe that Treaty with regard to them. Wherefore when *Giuliano de' Medici*, at the Instigation of the Pope, was arrived at his Court, to supplicate his Majesty in his own Name and that of his Brothers, to restore them to their Country, promising him a very large Sum of Money, he granted them an Audience in a very gracious Manner, and treated with him every Day about their Restoration.

Florentine
Ambassadors
roughly
treated by
the King
of France.

VALENTINO, encouraged by these Menaces of the *French* Court, and stimulated

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lated by *Vitellozzo* and the *Orsini*, who were his Officers, and great Enemies to the *Florentines*; the first for the Death of his Brother, and the others on Account of their Alliance with the Family of the *Medici*, had already ordered *Liverotto da Fermo* with One Hundred Light Horse to the Assistance of the *Pisans*, and after the Conquest of *Faenza* designed to be more troublesome to the *Florentines*; tho' neither himself nor his Father ever received any Injury from that People, but on the contrary many Favours and Benefits; for at their Request they had renounced their Protection of the States of *Riarii*, to which they were engaged; and had consented that the Duke's Army might be constantly supplied with Provisions from the *Florentine* Dominions. *Valentino*, with this Resolution, marched out of *Romagna* (of which Country, after the taking of *Faenza*, he had been declared Duke in full Consistory, and received the Investiture) and entered the *Bolognese*, in mighty Expectations of becoming Master also of that State. But the same Day, as he was encamped at *Castel S. Piero*, a Town near

A. D.
1501.

C 4

the

D. 4. the Borders, between *Imola* and *Bologna*,

1501.

he received the *French* King's Orders to lay aside all Designs upon *Bologna*, and of expelling *Giovanni Bentivoglio* from that City, because he had obliged himself to protect both his Person and the City. That as for those Words in the Protection, *that it should not injure the Rights of the Church*, they must be understood only of those Rights and Prerogatives that the Church enjoys at present: That to understand these Terms indefinitely, and not according to the obvious Meaning, as the Pontiff would have it, would be meer trifling, and render his Protection of no sort of Benefit to the *Bolognese* and the *Bentivogli*. *Valentino* finding himself disappointed, to the great Mortification of the Pontiff and himself, laid aside all Hopes for the present, and, by Means of *Pagolo Orfino*, came to an Agreement with *Bentivoglio*, by which he was allowed a free Passage with his Army through the *Bolognese*, and to be supplied with Provisions in his March. *Bentivoglio* was to pay the Duke every Year Nine Thousand Ducats, and supply him with a certain Number of Men at Arms, and of Foot,

Valentino
agrees
with *Bentivoglio*.

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Foot, to be employ'd against *Tuscany*. He was also to put the Duke in Possession of *Castel Bolognese*, a Town situated between *Imola* and *Faenza*, and under the Jurisdiction of *Bologna*; which Place was bestowed on *Pagolo Orsino*. When a Peace was thus settled, *Bentivoglio*, either prompted by his over jealous Temper, or, as is generally believed, giving into the Artifices of *Valentino*, who, with a Design to make him odious to the Citizens, had told him as a Secret, that he had been invited to come with his Army before *Bologna* by the *Mariscotti*, a Family powerful in Dependants and Partisans, and on that Account, and for their Insolence, become the Object of his Jealousy and Hatred, caused almost the whole Family of them that were in the City to be murdered, in which he employ'd not only his Son *Herries*, but many of the young Noblemen as Instruments of his Cruelty, that the Memory of their having imbrued their Hands in the Blood of the *Mariscotti* might forever render them Enemies to that Family, and make it their Interest to continue under his Administration.

THE

A. D.
1501.Motions
of Valen-
tine.

THE French Troops kept no longer with *Valentino*, expecting to join the royal Army, which, to the Number of One Thousand Lances and Ten Thousand Foot, under *Aubigni*, was on its March for *Naples*. As for *Valentino*, he took his Way through the *Bolognese*, towards the *Florentine* Dominions, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Thousand Foot from *Bentivoglio*, commanded by the Protonotary his Son, and demanded of the *Florentines* a Passage through their Territories, with Supplies of Provisions; but, without waiting for an Answer, he pursued his March, amusing the Ambassadors from *Florence* with fair Words, till he had passed the *Apennines*. But after he was conducted as far as *Barbarino*, he changed his Style, and insolently demanded that they should enter into a Confederacy with him, and take him into their Pay with such a Number of Men at Arms, and on such Conditions as were suitable to his Rank and Dignity; and that they should change their present Government, and constitute another in which
he

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he could place more Confidence. He ^{A. D. 1501.} had the Assurance to make these Demands, not so much from a Reliance on his Power, for he had no great Army nor heavy Cannon, as on a Presumption that the *Florentines* were but in a poor Condition, that they had but few Men at Arms, and no Infantry but Peasants, who did Duty every Day; and that nothing but Fear, Distrust and Division reigned in *Florence*. Besides, he had *Vitellozzo* and the *Orfini* with him in his Camp, and *Piero de' Medici* had, by his Orders, taken his Quarters at *Lajano* in the *Bolognese*; add to all this that the People were possessed with a Notion that some powerful Men of the City had procured this March of the Duke, that they might have an Opportunity to alter the Government after their own Mind.

BUT *Valentino* had no Intention to restore *Piero de' Medici*, nor did he think it his Interest to aggrandize *Vitellozzo* and the *Orfini*, with whom he knew that if *Piero* should return into his native Country, he would unite in the strictest Bonds of Friendship. And I have heard myself from

A. D.

1501.

from Persons of undoubted Credit, that he still retained the Memory of an old Grudge he had conceived against him when his Father, before he was promoted to the Popedom, and then only Archbishop of *Pampalona*, studied the Canon Law in the University of *Pisa*. He had Occasion to take a Journey to *Florence*, on the Behalf of a Friend who was concerned in a criminal Case, where, after he had waited several Hours in Expectation of an Audience from *Piera*, who was detained either by Business or Pleasure, he was at last obliged to retire, and returned to *Pisa* without speaking with him, full of Indignation, as thinking himself highly affronted. However, out of Complaisance to the *Kitelli* and *Orfini*, he smothered his Resentment; but much more for the Sake of increasing the Terrors and Divisions among the *Florentines*, of which he intended to make his Advantage, by obtaining of them better Conditions, or an Opportunity of surprising some important Place of their Dominions. But as he was sensible that this Insult of his offered to the *Florentines*,
and

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and his Approaching with an Army ^{A. D. 1501.} within Six Miles of their Walls, would by no means please the King of *France*; he entered into a Convention with them, in which it was stipulated, That there should be a firm Alliance between the Republic of *Florence* and himself for the Defence of their respective Estates, by which they were prohibited to give the least Assistance to the Rebels on either Side, particularly *Valentino* was obliged not to assist the Rebels of *Pisa*; the *Florentines* should pardon all Offences and Misdemeanors, by whomsoever committed on account of his Coming; nor should make the least Opposition to the Duke in Defence of the Lord of *Piombino*, who was under their Protection; the *Florentines* should take the Duke into their Pay with Three Hundred Men at Arms, for Three Years, with a Salary of Thirty-six Thousand Ducats yearly, which Force should be ready to march to their Assistance, whatever Occasion required, and act offensively or defensively.

THE Treaty being signed, *Valentino* de-

1501.

decamped, and marched for *Signa*, making small Journeys, and lodging some Days wherever he rested, burning and plundering all the Way as if he had been in an Enemy's Country. His next Demands of the *Florentines* were that, according to the Custom of Payments, they would advance a Quarter of a Year's Pay to the Men at Arms; and that they would furnish him with a Train of Artillery to be employed against the Lord of *Piombino*. One of these Demands the *Florentines* absolutely refused, because they were no way obliged to grant it; the other was deferred, for they intended not to perform a Promise extorted from them by Force; and they were the more encouraged in this Resolution by the Advices they had received from their Agent at the *French* Court, which gave them Hopes that they should be delivered from this troublesome Invader by the King's Authority. And their Expectations were not in vain; for tho' *Lewis* was not displeased at *Valentino's* using Threats, and quickening their Fears, he would by no Means countenance his open Acts of Hostility; for he either did
not

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not dislike the present Government of *A. D.*
Florence, or, if he was desirous of ano- *1501.*
 ther Form of Administration, he would
 be displeased to have it brought about by
 any other Means than by his own Power
 and Authority. When the King, there-
 fore, had received Advice of *Valentino's*
 entering into the *Florentine* Dominions, he
 sent him Orders to quit the same without
 Delay; and, in case of Disobedience,
Aubigni, who was with an Army in *Lom-*
bardy, was ordered to march with his
 whole Force, and drive him out.

VALENTINO then, without obtaining *Valentino*
 either the Quarter's Pay or the Artillery, *quits Tus-*
 directed his March towards *Piombino*, and *cany.*
 ordered the *Pisans*, who had been encour-
 aged by *Vitellozzo*, whom the Duke had
 sent to *Pisa* for Artillery, to lay siege to
Ripomarancie, a Castle of the *Florentines*,
 to draw off from the Place. Entering
 into the Territory of *Piombino*, he took
 Possession of *Sugereto*, *Scarolino*, the Isle
 of *Elba*, and *Pianosa*, and leaving Garri-
 sons in those Places sufficient to defend
 them, and to straiten *Piombino*, he
 marched

A. D.
1501.

French
Prepara-
tions a-
gainst
Naples.

marched with the rest of his Forces into the Territory of *Rome*, in order to attend the King's Army, which was on its March for *Naples*, part of the Troops having entered *Tuscany* by the Way of *Castrocaro*, while the rest took their Rout through the *Lunegiana*. The whole Force consisted of One Thousand Lances, Four Thousand *Swiss*, and Six Thousand *French* and *Gascon* Foot, with a great Train of Artillery, according to Custom. And it was observable, that those Troops which took their Way by the *Lunegiana*, passed through the City of *Pisa* in a friendly Manner, and with great Demonstrations of Joy among the *French* as well as *Pisans*. About the same time sailed from *Provence*, on the same Expedition, the Fleet under the Command of *Ravestein*, Governor of *Genoa*, together with Three *Genoese* Carraches, and Sixteen other Ships, besides a great Number of Transports.

To resist these mighty Preparations King *Federigo*, not knowing that the *Spanish* Armaments were, under a Show
of

of Friendship and Protection, designed ^{A. D.} against himself, solicited ^{1501.} *Gonsalvo Ferrando*, who was with the *Spanish* Armada in the Ports of *Sicily*, in order to be at Hand, as was pretended, for his Assistance, to sail for *Gaeta*. *Federigo* had before delivered into his Hands some Towns in *Calabria*, which were demanded of him in order to facilitate the Acquisition on the Part of the *Spaniards*, tho' pretended to be desired only for the better Security of the Troops. The King was in Hopes that when *Gonsalvo* with his Army should join his own Forces, which, with those that were raising by the *Colonnas* at *Marino*, he expected would consist of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, he should be strong enough to meet the *French* in the Field, without being necessitated to stand upon the Defensive, and to dispose of his Troops in fortified Places, notwithstanding that he had been disappointed of the Succours which he expected, and had earnestly solicited, from the *Turkish* Emperor; to whom he represented, that his Highness

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had

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had much more to apprehend from the Success of the present *French* King than he had from that of the last. And to secure himself from Treachery, he ordered the Prince of *Bisignano*, and Count *Meleto*, who had been accused of holding private Correspondence with Count *Gajazzo* in the *French* Army, to be taken into Custody. After making these Dispositions, he sent his eldest Son *Ferdinando*, who was yet a Child, to *Taranto*, rather to provide for his Security, if any Misfortune should happen, than for the Defence of that City, and entrenched himself with his Army at *St. Germano*, where he expected to be joined by the *Spanish* Auxiliaries, and the new Levies under the *Colonnas*, hoping to meet with better Success in defending the Entrance into his Dominions, than his Nephew *Ferdinando* had against *Charles*.

ALL *Italy* was in the utmost Suspense and Anxiety at the present Juncture, every one being apprehensive that the Enterprize, so long meditated, and attempted must be attended with the greatest Calamities

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mities in the Execution. For the *French* A. D. 1501.
 Army did appear strong enough to obtain
 an easy Victory over the united Forces of
Federigo and *Gonsalvo*, and it was imagi-
 ned that when once the Spirits of such
 powerful Kings began to be irritated, and
 their Passions raised, they would con-
 tinue the War with greater Forces and
 Fury, and at length involve all the States
 of *Italy*, on one Side or other, according
 to their different Inclinations, or their
 particular Quarrels.

BUT all these Reasonings appeared to
 have no Foundation, and all Fears and
 Apprehensions vanished, as soon as the
French Army entered the Territory of
Rome; for the *French* and *Spanish* Amba-
 sadors in conjunction repaired to the Con-
 sistory, and notified to the Pope and Car-
 dinals the League between their Sovereigns,
 and their Partition of the Kingdom of
Naples, with an Intent, as they said, of
 putting themselves in a Condition of un-
 dertaking an Expedition against the Ene-
 mies of the Christian Religion, demand-
 ing

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ing of his Holiness the Investiture according to the Tenor of the Treaty which they had made, which the Pope granted without Delay.

Censures
of the
Peace.

THE Event of this War was now no longer doubtful, and the Fears of the Public were converted into Wonder and Astonishment, But every one in general called in question the Prudence of the *French King*, who, rather than suffer *Federigo* to rule the whole Kingdom as his Vassal and Tributary, as that Prince had by various Means endeavoured to obtain, chose to let Half of it fall into the Hands of the King of *Spain*, and introduce into *Italy*, where he was before the sole Arbitrator, a King his Rival, under whose Shelter all his discontented Enemies might at any time find Protection, and who besides was connected with the King of the *Romans* by the strictest Bonds of Alliance.

NOR did the Censure of the Public fall less heavy on *Ferdinando*, who was taxed with Insincerity and Breach of Faith. It was Matter of Astonishment to all, that,
from

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from a greedy Desire after one Part of a Kingdom, he should enter into a Confederacy against a Prince of his own Blood, and, that he might the more easily accomplish his Subversion, still flatter him with false Hopes of his Assistance; by which Proceedings he had eclipsed the Splendor of that glorious Title of Catholic King, which himself and Queen *Elizabeth* had a few Years before obtained of the Pontiff; and the Glory of those noble Exploits, by which they had so highly raised their Reputation, when no less for the Honour of the true Religion, than for the Sake of their own Interest, they drove the Moors out of the Kingdom of *Granada*.

To these calumniating Reflections on the Conduct of the two Kings, no other Answer was made on the Part of *France*, but that the King had Power enough, when Time should serve, to rectify all Disorders. But in Behalf of *Ferdinando* it was pleaded, that tho' he had had just Reason to turn his Arms against *Federigo*, because he well knew that he had long before carried on a private Negotiation with

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1501.

King *Ferdinando's*
Conduct

justified,

D 3

the

A. D. 1501. the King of *France* to his Prejudice, yet he sat still, and took no Notice. But when he understood that the King of *France* was resolved at all Hazards to undertake an Expedition against the Kingdom of *Naples*, he saw himself under a Necessity, either of defending it or abandoning it: To take upon himself the Defence of it, would be to kindle up a War, which could not but be very prejudicial to *Christendom*, especially when the *Turks* with their powerful Forces were attacking the *Venetians* by Sea and Land: To abandon it, would be to expose his own Kingdom of *Sicily* to great Danger; and, setting that Consideration aside, it would be highly injurious to his Property for the *French* to become Masters of *Naples*, which rightly belonged to himself, and to which his Title would receive additional Strength, and be unquestionable, in Case of Failure of the Line of *Federigo*. Wherefore in so difficult a Case he chose the Method of Partition, in Hopes that, by the bad Government of the *French*, he might in a short Time come in for the other Share; and in Case of such an Event, as he consulted

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salted the public Good, which he had always regarded more than his private Interest, so he would either keep it to himself, or restore it to *Federigo*, or rather to his Children; for he could not deny that he had his Name in Abhorrence, because he knew that, before the *French King* had taken *Milan*, he had treated with the *Turk*.

THE News of this Agreement between the two Kings astonished *Federigo* beyond Measure; *Gonsalvo* pretended to disregard what was published at *Rome*, and still fed him with vain Promises that he would march to his Succour. *Federigo* however, changing his first Resolution, decamped from *St. Germano*, and retired towards *Capua*, where he expected to be joined by the Troops which the *Colonnas* had levied by his Orders. The *Colonnas* leaving Garrisons in *Amelia* and *Roccadi Papa*, abandoned all the rest of their Possessions in the Territory of *Rome*, because the Pope, with the Consent of the *French King*, had sent a Body of Troops to seize on their Estates.

A. D.

1501.

IN this perplexed State of Affairs *Gonsalvo* receiving Intelligence that the *French* Army had passed *Rome*, immediately published his Commission, and ordered six Gallies for *Naples* to bring off the two old Queens, one the Sister, the other the Niece of his King. *Federigo* was advised by *Prospero Colonna* to stop those Galleys, and with his whole united Strength to meet his Enemies in the Field, because in trying his Fortune he had at least a Chance of being victorious; For of all human Actions no Events are so uncertain as those of Battles*. But in all other Methods it was most certain, that he had not Strength sufficient to resist two mighty Kings, attacking him in different Parts of his Kingdom. *Federigo* however considering this Advice as next to desperate, resolved to stand upon the Defensive, and to garrison his fortified Towns, and because *St. Germano*, and all the neighbouring Places,

* We meet with the same Maxim in *Cicero*, in his Orations in Defence of *Milo*, and of *Marcellus*, and in his *Philip*; x. and xiii. in his Letters to *Torquatus*, *Atticus*, and others; in *Virg. Æneid*. x. *Ovid. Met.* vii. *Seneca*, and in many others.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 57

Places, had revolted before *Aubigni* had A. D.
1501. marched out of *Rome*, he determined to make the first Stand at the City of *Capua*, where he placed a Garison of Three Hundred Men at Arms, some Light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, under *Fabritio Colonna*, and *Rinuccio da Marciانو*; whom he had lately taken into his Service; *Naples* he entrusted to the Care of *Prospero Colonna*, and threw himself with the rest of his Forces into *Aversa*. *Aubigni* in his March from *Rome* burnt *Marino*, *Cavi*, and some other Places belonging to the *Colonnas*, in Revenge for the Death of some Messengers, whom some Barons of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the French Interest, had sent to contract with him, and whom *Fabritio* had caused to be murdered. That General proceeded next to *Montefortino*, where he expected that *Giulio Colonna* would have made some Resistance; but *Giulio* shamefully abandoning the Place, *Aubigni* marched forwards, taking Possession of all the Towns on the Road to *Capua* as far as the River *Vulturno*, which not being fordable near *Capua*, he marched higher up towards the Mountains

A. D. 1501. Mountains where it was shallower. On Advice of *Aubigni's* Progress *Federigo* retired to *Naples*, abandoning *Aversa*, which, together with *Nola*, and many other Places, submitted to the *French*. The Brunt of the War now spent itself on *Capua*, which was attacked on both Sides of the River, on the upper Part, where the Stream begins to take its Course by the Town. After a brisk Battery from all Quarters, the Besiegers gave a furious Assault, but were repulsed with great Slaughter. However tho' they did not succeed in their Attempt, the Besieged had also suffered greatly, and thought themselves so much exposed, that both Officers and Soldiers began to think of surrendering the Place, and the more because of the great Tumults and Com-motions of the Citizens, and of the Pea-sants, who in great Numbers had fled into the Town for Refuge. On the Eighth Day of the Siege, while *Fabritio Colonna* was parleying from a Bastion with Count *Gajazzo* about surrendering the City on Articles, the Besieged neglecting their Guard, as it often happens when a speedy Accommodation is expected, the Enemy took

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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took the Opportunity to enter the Place, A. D. 1501. where, out of Greediness of Plunder, or in Revenge for the Loss they had sustained in the Assault, they made Havock of all, committing great Slaughter, and making Prisoners of those who had escaped their first Fury. Women of all Ranks and Qualities, and even such as were consecrated to the Service of God, could not escape their horrid and impious Barbarity, but fell a Sacrifice to their Lust or Avarice: Many of these poor Creatures were afterwards sold at *Rome* for a very small Price; and it is reported, that at *Capua* some of them, dreading Death less than the Loss of their Honour, threw themselves into Wells and Rivers. There was a Report also of another Piece of Villainy, worthy of eternal Infamy; a great Number of Women having escaped from the first Onset, and fled for Refuge to a Tower, Duke *Valentino*. who had the Title of the King's Lieutenant, but accompanied the Army only with his Gentlemen and his own Guard, wanted to view them; and, after surveying them with the utmost Nicety, selected Forty of the most beautiful for his

Capua taken and sacked.

A villainous Act.

OWN

A. D.
1501.

own Use. There remained Prisoners *Fabritio Colonna*, *Don Ugo di Cardena*, and all the other Officers and Men of Note, among whom was *Rinuccio da Marciano*, who had been wounded on the Day they gave the Assault with a Cross-bow Shot, and being committed to the Care of *Valentino's* Attendants, dyed after two Days, not without Suspicion of foul Play*.

Federigo
treats
with the
French.

THE Loss of *Capua* deprived *Federigo* of all Hopes of further Defence, *Gaeta* surrendered without Delay, and at *Aubigni's* Arrival at *Aversa*, *Federigo* abandoned the City of *Naples*, which immediately submitted without Resistance and agreed to pay Sixty Thousand Ducats to the Conquerors, and retired into *Castel Nuovo*, and a few Days after agreed with *Aubigni* to surrender him all the Towns and Fortresses that were in his Possession, and in that Part of the Kingdom which by the Division belonged to the King of *France*, reserving to himself only the Isle of *Ischia* for

* We are told by *Giovio*, that the Death of *Rinuccio* was procured by *Vitellozzo*, who poisoned his Wound, in Revenge of his Brother *Pagolo*, who was tortured and put to Death by those of *Rinuccio's* Faction.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 61

for six Months, during which Time it ^{A. D. 1501.} might be lawful for him to go to what Place he pleased except, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to send One Hundred Men at Arms to *Taranto*; covenanting further that he might be at Liberty to carry out any Thing from *Castel Nuovo* and *Castel dell' Uovo*, except the Artillery left there by King *Charles*; that a full and free Pardon should be granted for all Offences committed since the Time that King *Charles* made a Conquest of *Naples*; and that the Cardinals *Colonna* and of *Aragon* should enjoy those Benefices which they held in that Kingdom. And since we have Room to reflect: in this Castle of *Ischia*, one might behold, a melancholy Spectacle indeed! all the unhappy Posterity of old *Ferdinando* confined together. For besides this *Federigo*, newly deprived of his Kingdom, and more solicitous for the Fate of his little Children and first-born Son confined within *Taranto*, than concerned for his own Misfortunes, there was in this Castle his Sister *Beatrice*, who, after the Death of her Husband *Matthias*, a very famous King

A melancholy Reflection.

A. D.
1501.

King of *Hungary*, had a Promise of Marriage from *Uladislaus*, King of *Bobemia*, with a View, by her Assistance, to obtain the Kingdom of *Hungary*; but after he had effected his Desire, he ungratefully divorced her, and having a Dispensation from Pope *Alexander*, married another. There was also in this melancholy Company *Isabella*, late Dutches of *Milan*, no less unfortunate than the rest, being almost at once deprived of her Husband, Estate, and an only Son: It will not be, perhaps, improper in this Place to relate an uncommon Accident, and the more rare, as the Love of Children to their Father is become so rare in our Times. A Son of *Gilbert de Montpensier* took a Journey to *Pozzuolo* to see his Father's Monument, when coming near it, he was seized with an excessive Grief, and being quite overcome, and pouring out a Flood of Tears, fell dead upon the Spot where his Father lay.

Memorable Instance of filial Piety

FEDERIGO being resolved, out of an extreme Hatred to the King of *Spain*, to throw himself into the Arms of the King of

THE WARS IN ITALY. 63

of *France*, sent to demand of him a safe Conduct, and having obtained it, he left all his Friends and Relations in the Castle of *Ischia*, where also remained *Prospero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, who, on paying their Ransom, had been set at Liberty by the *French*. The Government of the Island he left, as it was before, in the Hands of the Marquis *del Guasto*, and the Countess of *Francavilla*, and sent Part of his Military to reinforce the Garrison of *Taranto*. This done, he embarked with Five light Gallies for *France*: In which he was certainly very ill advised; for had he took up his Residence in a free Place, he might, perhaps, in the War which afterwards happened between the two Kings, had an Opportunity to regain his Kingdom. But he chose a more quiet Life, thinking it perhaps the best, and accepted of the King's Offer to live in *France*, his Majesty bestowing on him the Duchy of *Anjou*, with a yearly Revenue of Thirty Thousand Ducats; and in return he sent Orders to the Governors of *Ischia* to deliver it to the *French*, but they refused to obey him, and kept the Island

A. D.
1501.

A. D. 1501. Island a long Time afterwards, but under
 the Standard of *Federigo*.

IN the mean time *Gonsalvo* had crossed over to *Calabria*, where, though the Country chose rather to be under the Dominion of the *French*, yet having no Means of Defence, all the Towns submitted to him without Resistance, except *Taranto* and *Manfredonia*. He first besieged and took *Manfredonia* and its Citadel, and then came with his Army before *Taranto*, where he was like to meet with greater Opposition. That Fortrefs, however, was at last surrendered upon Articles; for Count *Potenza*, who was appointed Guardian to the young Duke of *Calabria* by his Father, and *Leonardo* a *Neapolitan* Knight of *Rhodes*, the Governor of *Taranto*, finding they could defend the Place no longer, agreed to deliver up the City and Citadel, if they were not relieved in Four Months, *Gonsalvo* taking a solemn Oath upon the holy Sacrament to set at Liberty the young Duke of *Calabria*, who had secret Orders from his Father to leave the Place, when he

THE WARS IN ITALY. 65

he found himself incapable of resisting A. D. 1501.
 his ill Fortune, and to come to him in }
France. But neither the Fear of God,
 nor Regard to Reputation were of any
 Weight against Reasons of State. For
Gonsalvo, judging that such Accidents
 might happen as to render it a Matter of
 great Importance to the King of *Spain*, to
 have the Person of the young Prince in
 his own Power, despising his Oath, would
 not permit him to go away, but, on the
 first Opportunity, sent him well attended
 into *Spain*, where he was graciously re- Duke of
 ceived by the King, who kept him near Calabria
 his Person, and treated him in outward sent into
Spain.
 Appearance with all the Honour due to
 his royal Blood.

ALL this time the Affairs of the Pon- Proceed-
 tiff proceeded in the same prosperous ings of
 Manner as usual. He acquired, with all the Pope
 the Ease he could desire, the whole and Va-
lantino.
 Estates of the *Colonna* and *Savelli* Fami-
 lies in the *Campagna*, part of which he
 bestowed on the *Orsini*; and *Valentino*
 carried on his Enterprize against *Piom-*
lino, in which he employed *Vitellozzo*
 VOL. III. E and

A. D.
1501.

and *Gian Pagolo Baglioni* with new Levies. *Jacopo d' Appiano*, Lord of that Place, intimidated at their Approach, left a Garrison in the Town and Cittadel, and went off by Sea into *France*, in order to try if he could prevail with the King, who had long before taken him into his Protection, that, out of regard to his own Honour, he would not suffer him to perish. But the King, without excusing his scandalous Breach of Faith, answered him very freely, that he had promised the Pope not to oppose him in his Undertakings, and that he could not do it without Injury to himself. In the meantime the Town of *Piombino*, by means of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, was surrendered to *Valentino*, and a few Days after the Cittadel. The Pope also married his Daughter *Lucretia* (who had already been Wife to Three Husbands, and was now a Widow by the Death of *Gismondo*, Prince of *Biselli*, natural Son of *Alfonso* late King of *Naples*, who was assassinated by *Valentino*) to *Alfonso* eldest Son of *Ercole da Este*, with a Dowry of One Hundred Thousand Ducats in ready Money, besides

Pope mar-
ries his
Daughter
Lucretia.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 67

sides a Multitude of Presents to a very ^{A. D. 1501.} great Value. To this Match, so unworthy of the Family of the *Esti*, which used to contract Affinity with none but the most noble Families, *Ercole* and *Alfonso* were induced to consent, because the King of *France*, who was willing to have every thing done for the Pope's Satisfaction, earnestly insisted on it. And they were also inclined to it from a Desire they had of securing themselves (if there could be any Security against such perfidious Dealings) against the Arms and Ambition of *Valentino*, who abounding in Money, and strengthened with the Authority of the Apostolic See, and the Favour of *France*, was now grown formidable to a great Part of *Italy*, who were sensible that his covetous Ambition knew no Bounds or Restraint.

At the same time the King of *France*, with the greatest Sollicitude, was negotiating a Peace with *Maximilian*, not only in hopes of getting free from Expences and Jealousies, and of obtaining the long desired Investiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*,

A. D.

1501.

but that he might also have an Opportunity to fall upon the *Venetians*, to which he was incited by knowing that his Successes were disagreeable to them, and he was persuaded that they had secretly laboured to interrupt the Peace between him and *Cæsar*. But his principal Motive was his Desire to recover *Cremona* and the *Gbiaradadda* out of the Hands of the *Venetians*, to which he was urged not only by his own Inclinations, but by the Sollicitations of the *Milanese*, tho' he had himself but very lately made a Concession of them to the Republic. He had also an Eye on *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*, formerly Members of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and wrested from it by the *Venetians* in their War with *Filippo Maria Visconte*. To manage these Matters more closely, and to make the necessary Provisions for the Enterprize on *Naples*, he had long before dispatched to *Milan* the Cardinal of *Rouen*, whose Word and Authority were equivalent to that of the King himself. The Cardinal had resided there several Months, and spent his Time in treating with the King of the *Romans*,
without

THE WARS IN ITALY. 69

without effecting any thing, through the *A. D.*
 Fickleness of that Prince. During this *1501.*
 Time also the *Florentines* endeavoured, by
 means of that Prelate, to be received anew
 under the royal Protection; but in vain,
 for the King proposed very hard Conditions *Cardinal*
 to them. And to shew that he was utter- *of Renew*
 ly averse to a Reconciliation, he pretended *negotiates*
 that he was no longer obliged to perform *with the*
 the Treaty of *Milan*, and made over to *Italian*
 the *Lucchese*, who were anew received *States.*
 into his Protection, *Pietrasanta* and *Mu-*
trone, as Places by antient Right apper-
 taining to *Lucca*; but the *Lucchese* paid
 him, as Lord of *Genoa*, Twenty-four
 Thousand Ducats, because they had for-
 merly, when they were in possession of
Pietrasanta, under a certain Exigency of
 the State, mortgaged the same, for the
 aforesaid Sum, to the *Genoese*, from whom
 it was, by Force of Arms, taken by the
Florentines. He treated also with the
Senese, the *Lucchese*, and the *Pisans* about
 their entering into a Confederacy for re-
 storing the *Medici* to *Florence*, with a
 Design that the King should receive a
 round Sum of Money of each State.

E 3

But

A. D. But these Negotiations, tho' seemingly
 1501. brought to a Conclusion, had not the
 desired Effect, because the Parties were
 not all ready to pay the Sums demanded:

Conference be-
 tween
 Maximilian and
 the Cardinal of
 Rouen. At last there came more hopeful Ad-
 vices from the King of the *Romans*, on
 which the Cardinal set out for *Trento*, to
 meet his Majesty, and hold a Conference.
 Here was a great deal of Talk about
 confirming the Marriage of the King of
France's Daughter *Claude* with *Charles*
 eldest Son of the Archduke, with the
 Concession to them both of the Investiture
 of the Dutchy of *Milan*. They
 treated also of making War upon the
Venetians, for Recovery of the Estates
 which each Party pretended had been
 usurped from them by that People; and
 of calling a general Council for Reformation
 of the Church, not only, as they
 said, in the Members, but in the Head;
 to which the King of the *Romans* pre-
 tended to give his Consent, that he might
 give the Cardinal Hopes of obtaining the
 Popedom, to which he ardently aspired;
 his King, for the Interest of his own
 Greatness

THE WARS IN ITALY. 71

Greatness, as heartily desiring it as himself. *A. D.*

The Cardinal permitted, that in the Article in which the King of *France's* Dependants and Allies were included, that a Clause should be inserted, *Saving the Rights of the Empire*; by which *Maximilian* was empowered to examine into the Rights of any Person, either now nominated by the King, or before taken under his Protection. There only remained the principal Difficulty, which concerned the Investiture, because *Maximilian* refused to grant it to the male Children, if the King should happen to have any. There was also some Dispute about the Restoration of the Exiles of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which was demanded by *Cæsar* with great Earnestness; but the King could not be brought to consent to it, because they were many in Number, and Persons of great Interest and Authority; tho', being much pressed, he did not refuse to give Cardinal *Ascanio* his Liberty, and gave some Hopes of granting the same to *Lodovico Sforza*, with a yearly Pension of Twenty Thousand Ducats, on which he might live comfortably in

E 4

France.

1501.

France. These Difficulties having prevented the Agreement from being entirely settled, yet left Hopes of reducing Matters into a fairer Way of Accommodation ; for which Reason the Truce was prolonged, and the Cardinal returned into *France*, not doubting but that all those Matters of which he had been treating would be readily accomplished. And these Hopes were confirmed, when not long after the Archduke was under a Necessity of going into *Spain*, to receive of the People, in his own Person and that of *Giovanna* his Wife, eldest Daughter to the *Spanish* Sovereigns, the Oath appointed to be taken to those destined to the Succession. For taking his Journey with his Lady by Land, he had a Conference with the King at *Blois*, where he was received with the greatest Honours, and the Parties were entirely agreed about the future Nuptials of their Children. *

Doge of
Venice dies

IN this same Year died *Agostino Barbarigo*, Doge of *Venice* ; his Government proved

* *Lewis* gave Fifteen Thousand Ducats to *M. de Bisanzon*, the Archduke's Governor. *Buenaccorsi*.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 73

proved very prosperous to the Republic, ^{A. D. 1501.} but he exercised it with so much Authority, that his Power, in many Instances, seemed to have exceeded that of his Predecessors; wherefore the Senate first abridged the Power of future Doges by new Laws, and then elected *Leonardo Loredano*. The Form of that Government is so excellent, that public Affairs suffered no Variation either by the Death of the last, or the Election of a new Prince.

THIS Year, contrary to the preceding State of Years, produced no considerable Actions ^{the Florentines and Pisans} between the Forces of the *Florentines* and *Pisans*. For the *Florentines*, being no longer under the Protection of the *French King*, and standing in continual Awe of the Pope and *Valentino*, had more Attention to the Care of their own Property, than Inclination to disturb the Peace of their Neighbours; and the *Pisans*, who were unable of themselves to undertake any thing, had not been favoured with the Assistance of others, for none would make a Step in their Behalf, except it were

D. A. were to support them when they were
 1501. in the utmost Danger of sinking.

1502. IN 1502 the Hostilities were renewed between the *Florentines* and *Pisans*; for the *Florentines* about the Beginning of this Year made a new Treaty with the King of *France*, having surmounted all Obstacles more by Fortune than by the Favour of the King, or for any other Reasons. It appeared that the King of the *Romans*, after he had parted from the Cardinal of *Rouen*, having formed new Schemes, refused to grant the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Milan* to the female Issue of the King, and had sent Ambassadors into *Italy* *Hermes Sforza*, whom the King of *France* had set at Liberty at the Request of the Queen of the *Romans* his Sister, and the President of *Brissina*, to enter into a Treaty with the Pope and other Potentates about his Passage in order to receive the Imperial Crown. These Ambassadors tarried some Days at *Florence*, where they obtained a Promise from the Republic of One Hundred Men at Arms, and Thirty Thousand Ducats, to be in Readiness whenever his Majesty

Majesty should enter *Italy*. The King of *France* therefore suspecting that the *Florentines*, despairing of his Friendship, might espouse the Party of *Maximilian*, receded from his immoderate Demands, and offered more tolerable Conditions. The Substance of them was, That the King, on receiving them into his Protection, should be bound, for Three Years next ensuing, to defend them with an armed Force, at his own Cost, against any Power that should, either directly or indirectly, attack them in the Dominions of which they were then in Possession: That the *Florentines* should be obliged, in the said Space of Three Years, to pay each Year the third Part of One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Ducats: That all other Capitulations made between them, together with the Obligations depending on them, should be null and void: That the *Florentines* should be at Liberty to proceed by Force of Arms against the *Pisans*, and all other Invaders of their State.

A. D.
1502.

Treaty
between
the King
of France
and the
Florentines.

THE *Florentines* resuming new Spirits
from

A. D. 1502. from this Alliance, took a Resolution to

lay waste the Country about *Pisa*, and destroy all manner of Grain, in order to

*Flor- reduce the Pisans to their Obedience by
tines pro-
secute the length of Time, and by Famine, since
War a- Attempts to take their City by Force had
gainst the proved unsuccessful. This Method had
Pisans.*

*Politic
Advice of
a Floren-
tine.* been proposed in the first Year of the
Rebellion, by a wise Citizen, who repre-
sented it as a surer tho' longer Way, by
which the *Pisans* might be distressed and

wasted away, with less Expence, and less

Danger. For in the present distracted

State of *Italy*, if they saved their Money,

they might procure themselves Assistance

on many Occasions; but to attempt to

force a Submission would prove a difficult

Task, because *Pisa* had very strong

Walls, and was full of Inhabitants reso-

lutely determined to defend it; and if at

any time it should be in danger to be

taken, all those who would by no means

have it ruined, who were many in Num-

ber, would be sure to come to its Assist-

ance; so that the Expence would be

great, and the Hopes but small, attended

with much Labour, and certain Hazard.

This

THE WARS IN ITALY. 77

This Advice was rejected in the Beginning ^{A. D.} as prejudicial, but confessed to be useful ^{1502.} after a Course of several Years, in which, to obtain their Ends, they had expended a prodigious Sum of Money, and underwent infinite Labours and Hazards to no Effect. Having laid waste the Country, in Hopes that out of regard to the King's Protection, none durst give them any Disturbance, they laid Siege to *Vico Pisano*, which Town had a few Days before been betrayed to the *Pisans* by some Soldiers of the Garrison; when the Governor of the Castle, not waiting for the Succours, which would have arrived in a few Hours, very basely gave up that Place. The *Florentines* expected a very easy Conquest, for they knew that the Garrison had not Provisions for above fifteen Days, and they were confident of preventing all Supplies, by Means of the Forts which they had erected on the Hills, and by possessing all the Passes in several Places. In the mean time receiving Intelligence that *Fracassa*, who had skulked poor and pennyless in the *Mantuan*, was on his March with a few Horse,

A. D. 1502. Horfe, to throw himself into *Pisa*, in the Name, and with Letters of *Maximilian*, which seemed to have been sent him out of Charity, they gave Directions for attacking him by the Way, which was done near *Barga*, and tho' he fled for Refuge to a Church near the Territory of *Ferrara*, he was taken from thence, and made a Prisoner. And these were the Steps and Motions of the Parties in *Tuscany*, it not as yet appearing what Events, beyond human Foresight, they were destined to produce.

BUT much greater and more dangerous Movements, which were to give Birth to more extraordinary Events, began to discover themselves in the Kingdom of *Naples*, occasioned by the Differences which the Year before arose between the *French* and *Spanish* Generals. The Source of their Dissension was, that in the Division made between the two Kings of that Kingdom, in which one King was to have the *Terra di Lavoro*, and the *Abruzzi* *, and the other *Puglia* and

* *Abruzzo* is divided into two Parts, and thence sometimes called the *Abruzzi*, and sometimes *Abruzzo*.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 79

and *Calabria*, the Bounds and Limits of *A. D.* these Provinces were not clearly expressed. 1502.

Hence both Parties laid Claim to the *Capitanato*, the Dispute arising from an *French* and *Spanish* Alteration in the antient Denomination *contend* of the Provinces made by *Alfonso* of *about* *Aragon*, the first King of *Naples* of that *their Li-* *mits.*

Name. That Prince, in order to facilitate the Levying of his Taxes, divided the whole Kingdom into six principal Provinces, that is to say, into *Terra di Lavoro*, *Principato*, *Basilicata*, *Calabria*, *Puglia*, and the *Abruzzi*; of which *Puglia* was divided into three Parts, that is, into *Terra di Otranto*, *Terra di Bari*, and *Capitanato*. This *Capitanato* being contiguous to the *Abruzzi*, and divided from the rest of *Puglia* by the River of *Lofanto*, antiently called *Aufide*, the *French*, having no Regard for the modern Denomination, but observing the antient Division, pretended that the *Capitanato* either was not comprehended under any one of the four Provinces, or else that it was rather Part of the *Abruzzi* than of *Puglia*. The Contention was not so much upon account of the Importance of the

A. D.

1502

the Country in itself, as because he that was not Master of the *Capitanato* had no Right to the Duty upon Wool, which makes a considerable Part of the Revenues of the Kingdom : And also because the *Abruzzi* and *Terra di Lavoro* being deprived of the Corn that grows in the *Capitanato*, might, in a Time of Dearth, be reduced to great Extremities, whenever the *Spaniards* should prohibit the Importation of Corn from *Puglia* and *Sicily* into these Provinces. On the contrary it was alledged, that the *Capitanato* could not belong to the *French*, because the *Abruzzi* terminated in Mountains, and did not extend into the Plain ; and because in Differences about the Names and the Confines of a Country, one ought always to be directed by the present Usage. In the last Year they agreed to divide the Duties into two equal Shares, but this Year each Party, not content with dividing, scrambled for what he could get. To these were afterwards added new Grievances and Contentions, which are reported to have been fomented more by the Will of the Commanders than

THE WARS IN ITALY. 81

than by the Consent of their Sovereigns. A. D.
1502.
For the *Spaniards* pretended that the *Principato* and *Basilicata* were included in *Calabria*, which is divided into two Parts, the hither and further *Calabria*, that is, the upper and lower; and that *Valdi-benevento*, possessed by the *French*, was a Part of *Puglia*, for which reason they ordered their Justices to hold their Court at *Tripalda* within Two Miles of *Avellino*, where the *French* Officers of Justice resided.

THESE Beginnings of manifest Diffen-
tion being Matters of great Concern to
the Barons of the Kingdom, they inter-
posed between *Gonsalvo Fernandes*, and
Lewis d' Ormignac, Duke of *Nemours*
the Viceroy of the King of *France*. In
Compliance with their Desires, *Lewis*
being arrived at *Melfi*, and *Gonsalvo* at
Atella, a Town belonging to the Prince
of *Melfi*, after a Negotiation of some
Months, in which the two Chiefs had a
private Conference, no Means being found
for effecting an Agreement between them,
it was at last determined to wait the

VOL. III.

F

Decision

A. D.

1592.

War
breaks out
between
the French
and Spaniards.

Decision of their Kings, and in the mean time to make no Innovations. But the French Viceroy, presuming on the great Superiority of his Forces, a few Days after published another Declaration, and denounced War in case *Gonsalvo* did not speedily relinquish the *Capitanato*, and immediately after dispatched some Troops to *Trippalda*. From this Incurſion, which was made the 19th Day of June, we may date the Beginning of this War, in the Proſecution of which the French begun with making themſelves Maſters by force of the Towns held by the Spaniards in the *Capitanato*, and elſewhere. The King of France was ſo far from diſcountenancing theſe Proceedings, that, on the contrary, when he was informed that the King of Spain was reſolved not to make a Ceſſion of the *Capitanato*, he bent all his Thoughts to War. For this end he ordered Two Thouſand Swiſs to be transported by Sea to *Naples*, and took the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*, and ſome others of the principal Barons, into his Pay. He then proceeded in Perſon to *Lions*, to be nearer at hand to make all the

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the necessary Provisions for the Conquest ^{A. D. 1502.} of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, to which, without being contented with the Places in Dispute, it was manifest that he aspired. He was determined also to pass into *Italy*, if need required, which indeed he was obliged to do with all Speed, on account of some new Tumults in *Tuscany*, excited by *Vitellozzo*, with the Knowledge of *Gian Pagolo Baglione* and the *Orfini*, and by the Advice and Authority principally of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, ^{Commo- tions in Tuscany.} who were all of them desirous of the Return of *Piero de' Medici* into the State of *Florence*.

THE Original of these Disorders was as follows : *Guglielmo de Pazzi*, the *Florentine* Commissary * at *Arezzo*, being informed that some of the Citizens had entered into a Conspiracy with *Vitellozzo* to make that City rebel against the *Florentines*, would not believe that the Hearts of all the Citizens were corrupted, but persuading himself that the Name and

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* Governors of Towns in several States of *Italy* are called Commissaries.

A. D. Authority of the Republic were sufficient

1502.

Arenzo
revolts
from the
Floren-
tines.

to supply the Want of Forces, neglected to make the necessary Provisions for seizing the Conspirators, and such as would make Resistance, as he might have done in a short Space of Time, but all on a sudden committed to Prison Two only who were privy to the Plot; on which the Populace, stirred up by the other Conspirators, and by their common Hatred and Aversion to the *Florentine* Name, made a Riot, set at liberty the Two Prisoners, imprisoned the Commissary, and the other Officers of Justice, and, proclaiming the Name of Liberty through the whole City, broke out into open Rebellion. The Citadel only remained in the Hands of the *Florentines*, whither, at the Beginning of the Tumult, *Cosmo*, Bishop of that City, and Son to the Commissary, fled for Refuge. After this the *Aretines* sent with all Speed for *Vitellozzo*, who was displeased that the Plot had broke out before the Time appointed between him and the Conspirators, because he had not in Readiness the Preparations that were designed to make Resistance against the Forces of the

the *Florentines*, if, as it was very likely, ^{A. D. 1502.} they should arrive, and attempt to enter the Town by the Citadel. Under this Apprehension, tho' he immediately repaired thither, with his own Company of Men at Arms, and a good Number of Foot, which he had drawn together out of *Citta di Castello*, and those which *Gianpagolo Baglione* had sent him from *Perugia*, and with the Money *Pandolfo Petrucci* had privately advanced, yet he did not think proper to continue there, but leaving some of his Troops in the Town, with Orders that they should block up the Citadel very closely, to prevent all Communication with the City, he went back to *Citta di Castello*, with a Design, as he gave out, to return soon after much better provided.

BUT in *Florence*, those whose Business it was to resolve on Measures suited to the present Exigency, did not at first sufficiently consider of what Importance this Accident might prove. For when the principal Citizens, by whose Counsels the most important Affairs of the Republic were usually directed, had advised

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F 3

to

A. D.
1502.

to order the Forces that lay at the Siege of *Vico Pisano*, to hasten with the utmost Speed to *Arezzo*, where they were too numerous to fear any Resistance, if they had used Expedition, many of the ignorant Sort, who were in high Offices, with great Vehemency opposed it, pretending that it was a Matter of light Concern, and might be easily suppressed by the Forces that were in the other neighbouring Towns, asserting there was much greater Danger to be apprehended from those who, out of Malignity to the present Government, wished that *Vico Pisano* might not be taken, and so all Thoughts of recovering *Pisa* this Year laid aside. By thus demurring, the March of the Troops was so long deferred, that *Vitellozzo* resumed new Spirits from their Slowness, and increasing his Forces returned to *Arezzo*, where he was afterwards reinforced by more Troops under *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, *Fabio* Son of *Pagolo Orsini*, and the Cardinal, and *Piero de' Medici*; and when they had received a Supply of Ammunition from *Siena* they began to batter the Citadel,

in

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In which, according to the Custom of *A. D.*
1502.
many who are more intent on building
new Fortresses, than careful to provide
Necessaries for the Defence of those that
are already erected, there was a Want of
Victuals, and of all other Things necessary
for its Defence; and the Besiegers drew
a Line of Contravallation, to prevent all
Succours. The Garrison being in Want
of all Necessaries, and knowing that the
Florentine Army under *Hercole Bentivoglio*,
which was advanced to *Quarata*, a
Castle in the Neighbourhood of *Arezzo*,
durst proceed no further, despaired of
Relief, and were forced to surrender on
the 14th Day of the Rebellion, on Con-
dition that the Besieged might go free,
except the Bishop, and Eight more the
Aretines should chuse, who were to re-
main Prisoners, to be exchanged for some
of their Citizens who were imprisoned at
Florence. This done, the Populace de-
molished the Citadel, and the *Florentines*
fearing that *Vitellozzo* and *Gian Pagolo*,
who were now superior to them in Force,
would come and attack them, retired to
Montevarchi, leaving the Enemy at Li-
berty

Citadel of
Arezzo
surrender-
ed and de-
molished.

A. D. 1502. berty to take all the Towns and Villages round about them.

By some it is believed that this Affair was conducted without the Participation of the Pope or *Valentino*, who would have been very sorry for the Return of *Piero de' Medici* to *Florence*, on account of his Intimacy with *Vitellozzo* and the *Orsini*, whom they had secretly designed to oppress, tho' they had always endeavoured to make them believe the contrary, and consented that *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo*, and *Fabio*, who were in their Pay, should prosecute this Enterprize. And indeed it appeared, without Diffimulation, that the News of the Rebellion of *Arezzo* was highly pleasing to them; for they hoped to reap some Advantage from the Distresses of the *Florentines*, either by acquiring some Part of their Dominion, or by forcing them to hard Conditions, in subserviency to their own Interest; But the *Florentines* could hardly believe but that the Duke and his Father were not the Authors of this Revolt, and were therefore under the greater Consternation; and
having

THE WARS IN ITALY. 89

having but little Confidence in their own Strength, because, by the bad Disposition of the Citizens, they had but few Men at Arms, and were unable to provide themselves so soon as the Suddenness of the Danger required, they had immediate Recourse to the Assistance of the King of *France*, Florentines crave Assistance of the French King. representing to him, how not only his Honour was concerned, as he had but just before taken them under his Protection, but also the Danger that threatened the Dutchy of *Milan*, if the Pope and *Valentino*, by whose Instigation there was no Doubt but these Commotions had been excited, should be suffered to reduce the Affairs of *Tuscany* under their own Management; that they had a powerful Force, and a flourishing Army, composed of choice Troops under experienced Officers; and that it manifestly appeared that *Romagna* and *Tuscany* were not sufficient to satisfy their infinite Ambition, but that they had proposed to themselves greater Matters, and formed Projects vast and boundless; and that since they had already offended the Honour of the King, by attacking those who were under his Protection,

A. D. 1502. tion, they were now under a Necessity to think no less on the Means for their own Security, than on depriving him of the Power to avenge himself of them for so great an Injury.

THESE Reasons greatly moved the King, who had already begun to dislike the Insolence and Ambition of the Pope and his Son; and considering that the War was begun in the Kingdom of *Naples* between himself and the King of *Spain*, that the Negotiations of Peace with *Maximilian* were interrupted, and that for many Reasons he could not confide in the *Venetians*, he began to doubt that the Insult on *Tuscany* was secretly designed to pave the Way for some greater Enterprize against himself. And he was confirmed in this Conjecture by the Letters of *Charles d'Amboise* Lord of *Chaumont*, Nephew of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, and Lieutenant of the Dutchy of *Milan*, who, suspecting this new Step, advised his Majesty by all means to provide for the Safety of his own Dominions; on which the King resolved to hasten his Journey into *Italy*, and to lose no Time
in

THE WARS IN ITALY. 91

in supporting the Cause of the *Florentines*, A. D. 1502. he ordered the same *Monf. Chaumont* to send with all Speed Four Hundred Lances to their Succour, and posted away his Herald *Normandy* with positive Orders, not only to *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo*, *Pandolfo*, and the *Orfini*, but to Duke *Valentino* himself, to desist from all Hostilities against the *Florentines*. At the same Time he made earnest Representations to the Pope's Nuncio, and used very high and threatening Language to *Giuliano de' Medici*, and to the Agents of *Pandolfo* and *Vitellozzo*, who were in his Court. King of France espouses the Cause of the Florentines.

IN the mean time *Valentino*, after the Affair of *Arezzo*, had marched his Army out of *Rome*, under Pretence of laying Siege to *Camerino*, whither he had before detached the Duke of *Gravina* and *Liverotto da Fermo*, with Part of his Troops, to ravage the Country, and invest the Place; but his real Design was to surprise the Dutchy of *Urbino*. For this End, having assembled the rest of his Army on the Borders of *Pergia*, he demanded of *Guidobaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, some Artillery

A. D.

1502.

lery and Troops, which was readily granted, for it was not safe to deny a Prince who had an Army so near, and, having before compounded some Differences with the Pope, about Tribute, he had no Occasion to be afraid. *Valentino* having thus rendered the Duke less capable of making any Defence, he suddenly decamped from *Nocera*, and marching with incredible Speed, without giving his Soldiers Leisure to refresh themselves by the Way, he arrived the same Day at *Cagli*, a City of the Dutchy of *Urbino*. His sudden Coming, and taking them unprovided, spread so great a Consternation in every one, that the Duke * with *Francesco Maria dalla Rovere*, Prefect of *Rome*, his Nephew, had scarce Time to save themselves by Flight; so that in a few Hours the whole Dutchy of *Urbino*, except the Castles of *San Leo* and *Majuolo*, fell into the Hands of *Valentino*, to the great Mortification and Terror.

Valentino
acquires
the
Dutchy
of *Urbino*
by Sur-
prize.

* The Duke of *Urbino* avoided falling into the Hands of *Valentino*, by disguising himself like a Peasant, and mounting on a Peasant's Horse, by which he escaped first to *Ravenna*, and afterwards to *Manua Bembo*. The Prefect his Nephew got safe to *Asi*, to the Cardinal of *St. Piero Vincola*, his Grandfather. *Buenac*.

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Terror of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, *Vitellozzo*, *A. D.*
and the *Orfini*, who began clearly to discern their own Danger in the Duke's Fate. 1502.

VALENTINO, after the Conquest of this Dutchy, deliberated with himself, whether it were best to employ his Forces in finishing the Enterprize upon *Camerino*, or making an open Attack upon the *Florentines*, to which he was heartily inclined, if he had not been restrained by the King's Command, and been assured that whatever the Pope could do to dissuade his Majesty from opposing such a Step, he had yet ordered his Men at Arms to march in Favour of the *Florentines*, and was fully disposed to defend them, and, what was still a greater Check on the Duke, was ready to go in Person into *Italy*.

IN this State of Uncertainty *Valentino* took up his Quarters in *Urbino*, that he might take Advice, and regulate his Measures from every Day's successive Occurrences, treating at the same time, by the Pontiff, and by himself, with the *Florentines*

A. D. 1502. putation of the *French* Arms had such Effect as to supply their Want of Force.

For the Two Hundred Lances under Captain *Imbault* being arrived near *Florence*, and not daring, for want of Infantry, to face the Enemy, were marched to *St. Giovanni* in *Valdarno*, with an Intention to join the rest of the Forces expected in that Place. But *Vitellozzo*, as soon as he had received Intelligence of their Motion towards *Valdarno*, apprehending that *Arezzo* might be endangered by his Absence, retired in all Haste from *Vernia* to the Hills of *Ciciliano*, about two Miles from *Quarata*, from whence he afterwards ventured three Miles further, to brave the Enemy, and to secure *Rondine* and other circumjacent Places, strongly entrenching himself near *Rondine*, after leaving some of his Foot to guard *Gargansu* and *Civitella*, two Passes by which the *Florentines* must enter the Country. In the mean time arrived Two Hundred more *French* Lances, under Captain *L'anire*. The *Florentines* drew up between *Montevarchi* and *Laterino*, with an Intent to entrench themselves on an Eminence near the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 97.

the Camp of *Vitellozzo*, as soon as they could get together Three Thousand Foot, in which Circumstance it would be impossible for him to continue where he was, or decamp without the utmost Danger, and therefore he retired under the Walls of *Arezzo*. But the *French* having drawn out their whole Force into the Plain, and posted themselves before *Quarata*, he drew his Troops into the Town. And tho' he had always boasted that he would defend the Place to the last Extremity, yet the Face of Affairs was now so altered, that he was obliged to change his Resolution. For *Gian Pagolo Baglione* was retired into *Perugia* with his Troops, being taught by the Example of the Duke of *Urbino*, to provide for his own Safety: That Duke's narrow Escape, and the sad Fate of the Lord of *Camerino* which succeeded it, very much disturbed the Minds of *Vitellozzo*, *Pandolfo Petrucci*, and the *Orsini*. For *Valentino*, while he was treating of an Agreement with *Giulio da Varano*, Lord of *Camerino*, craftily took Possession of his City, and having got the Lord and his two Sons in his

A. D. 1502. *Vitellozzo retires to Arezzo.*
Valentino's Cruelty.

VOL. III. G Power,

A. D.
1502.

Power, caused them, with the same Barbarity as he had served others, to be strangled.

BUT what gave *Vitellozzo* more Concern, was that the King of France was arrived at *Asti*, and had ordered *Lewis de la Tremouille* with Two Hundred Lances and a great Train of Artillery to *Tuscany*, and that he was already arrived at *Parma*, expecting Three Thousand *Swiss*, which the King had appointed for the Recovery of *Arezzo* at the Charge of the *Florentines*.

Pope and
Valentino
fallen un-
der the
French
King's
Displea-
sure.

For he was highly incensed against the Pope, and had it in his Thoughts to deprive *Valentino* of *Romagna* and the other Estates he had seized. And in this Disposition he invited to his Court all those who were either afraid of his Power, or had received Injuries from him, and declared he would go in Person, protesting publickly, with great Vehemence, that it was a holy and pious Undertaking, even no less holy and pious than an Expedition against the *Turks*. At the same time he designed to expel *Pandolfo Petrusci* from *Sienna*, because he had assisted *Lodovico Sforza* with



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With Money at his Return to *Milan*, and ever since that had made open Profession of his Adherence to *Cæsar*. A. D. 1501.

BUT the Pontiff and *Valeantino* knowing themselves unable to stand so great a Storm, had recourse to their usual Arts, pretending that the Commotions in *Arezzo* were excited by *Vitellozzo* without their Knowledge; that they were not of sufficient Authority to restrain him, and that they could not prevent the *Orsini* and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, then in their Pay, from assisting him out of Self-Interest. And the more to mitigate the King's Displeasure, *Valentino* sent a threatening Message to *Vitellozzo*, that if he did not forthwith abandon *Arezzo* and the other Towns of the *Florentines*, he would march with his Army against him. *Vitellozzo* terrified at this, and fearing, as it generally happens when stronger Powers are reconciled, that the Wrath of the King should discharge itself upon him, as the weaker, invited *Imbault* into *Arezzo*, contrary to the Will of the *Florentines*, who expected that the Towns which they had lost would

A. D.
1502.

Arezzo,
delivered
to the
French.

be freely restored to themselves. It was agreed that *Vitellozzo* should withdraw his Troops without Delay, and yield up *Arezzo* and the other Towns into the Hands of the *French* Generals, to be kept by them in the Name of the King; till such time as Cardinal *Orfini*, who was on the Point of setting out, should inform his Majesty of what had passed; and that in the mean time there should enter into *Arezzo* no more than one *French* Captain with Forty Horse, for Security of whom, and for the Performance of the Engagement, *Vitellozzo* should deliver to *Imbault* two of his Nephews as Hostages. But *Vitellozzo*, as soon as the Agreement was made, marched out of *Arezzo* with all the Troops and Artillery, leaving the Place, together with all the other Towns which he had evacuated, in the Hands of the *French*, who by the King's Commission without Delay restored them to the *Florentines*. This verified what M. *Imbault* had said, with a Scoff, in his Answer to the Complaints of the *Florentines*, while they were treating about the Delivery of the Places; That he could not understand
wherein

1

THE WARS IN ITALY, 101
 wherein the Wit of the *Florentines*, so A. D. 1501.
 celebrated for their Acuteness, consisted, Imbault's Saying of the Florentines.
 since they were so dull as not to be sensible
 that, in order to secure themselves a speedy,
 easy, and cheap Victory, and to avoid
 those Disorders which might arise from
 the natural Temper of the *French* when
 they wanted Provisions or from any other
 Cause, they should have chosen at any
 Rate, without boggling as they had done
 to have *Arezzo* put in the Hands of the
 King, who was not obliged to fulfil any
 Agreement his Generals had made with
Vitellozzo any farther than he thought
 fit.

THE *Florentines* being thus delivered
 from so troublesome and unexpected an
 Attack, and with so much Ease, tho' not
 without a large Expence, employed all
 their Thoughts and Care on setting the
 Government of the Republic upon a bet-
 ter Footing, since it was manifest by Ex-
 perience, even to the Vulgar, that it was
 owing to the Confusion and Disorders in
 the Administration, that the Republic
 had been lately in so much Danger. For

4. D.
1502.

by the frequent Changes of Magistrates, and the Jealousy which the People had conceived at the name of a Few at the Helm, there was no Person, either public or private that constantly employed his Time in the Service of the Government. And as the City in general abhorred a Tyranny, and the Commonalty were jealous of the Authority of the Nobles, and therefore it would be impracticable by one and the same Resolution to settle a perfect Form of Government, Reasons having no Force on Persons incapable of receiving them, it was resolved for the present to introduce only one Alteration: This was, that the Gonfaloniere of Justice, who was at the Head of the supreme Magistracy, and together with it created every Two Months, should for the future be chosen for Life, that he might have nothing else to do but to employ his Care and Attention on what concerned the Government, and to consult the Good of the Public, that it might no more be subject to so dangerous a Situation through Neglect. And it was hoped that the Authority with which his Person was invested by Virtue of his Office,

Florentines alter their Form of Government.

Office, together with his Establishment ^{4. D.} in that high Station, might procure him ^{1502.} so great a Measure of Trust and Confidence in the Minds of the People, as would enable him, Time after Time, to work a Reformation in other Parts of the Government; and by advancing Citizens of the best Quality and Conduct to some Degree of Honour above the rest, constitute a Medium between himself and the Commonalty; which by managing the Ignorance and Licentiousness of the Multitude on one hand, and restraining the Power of his Successors, if they should arrogate too much to themselves on the other, might be the Means of establishing a prudent and honourable Administration, and consequently of promoting Peace and Concord in the whole City. After this Resolution, in a full Assembly, and with one Consent, was elected Gonfaloniere, *Piero Soderini*, a Man of mature Age, of a competent Estate, and noble Birth, of an unblemished Character, and chaste. He had been much employed in Affairs of State, and having no Children, which was a Point

D. A. to be regarded, had no Temptation to
 1502. ambitious Views for aggrandizing his
 Family.

King of
France
 compli-
 mented
 by the
Italians.

BUT to resume our Account of general
 Affairs, the King of *France* was no
 sooner arrived at *Asti*, than he was ad-
 dressed, as usual, by all the Princes and
 free Cities of *Italy*, either in Person, or
 by their Ambassadors. Among them was
 the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis
 of *Mantoua*, tho' this latter was not trusted,
 nor acceptable. There went also Car-
 dinal *Battista Orsini*, against the Pope's
 Consent, to vindicate his Relations and
Vitellozzo, concerning the Affair of
Arezzo, and to incense the King against
 the Pope and *Valentino*, upon whom all
Italy was in the highest Hopes and Ex-
 pectations that his Majesty, in pursuance
 of his first Resentment so warmly ex-
 pressed, would turn his Arms. But
 Experience shews, that very rarely any
 thing comes to pass that is expected by
 the Multitude. The Reason is, that the
 Effects of human Actions commonly de-
 pending on the Will of a Few, and the
 In-

Intentions and Ends of those Few almost constantly different from those of the Many, it very seldom happens that Things succeed otherwise than according to the Intention of those who first set them in Motion. Thus it fell out in the present Case, where Interest and private Ends induced the King to take a Resolution contrary to the universal Desire of the People. But his Majesty was not so much moved by the Affiduties of the Pope, who never ceased sending, one after another, Persons best qualified to soften his Spirit, and mitigate his Resentment, as by the Counsels of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who was desirous, as he always had been, to preserve a good Understanding between the Pope and the King, to which he was induced, perhaps in part by private Interest, as well as by a Regard to the King's Advantage. For his Holiness prolonged his Legateship of *France* for Eighteen Months; and as he was solicitously attentive on laying a Foundation for his Ascending to the Popedom, he endeavoured to obtain of the Pope a Promotion of his Kindred and Dependants to

A. D.
1702.

Cardinal
of *Rouen*
Advocate
for the
Pope.

A. D.

1502.

to the Cardinalship, and he was of Opinion that it might be of some Service to him for attaining his Ends, to have the Name of the Lover and Protector of the Ecclesiastical State.

THE Circumstances of the present Times, concurred to induce the King more easily to abate his Resentment for he had taken some Umbrage at *Maximilian*, who, ever restless, had lately sent a good Body of Horse, with some Infantry, to *Trento*; and had made large Offers to the Pope for obtaining his Assistance in his Passage into *Italy*, in order to receive the Imperial Crown. And every Motion he made that way deserved the more Attention, as the King knew he was obnoxious to the *Venetians*, because he was in possession of the Duchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*. Besides, he was at variance with Four Cantons of the *Swiss*, who demanded the Cession of the Territory of *Bellinzona*, and more than that, a Grant also of the Vale of *Valtellina* and *Scafusa*, with other unreasonable Demands, threatening other-
wise

wife to make a League with *Maximilian*. These Difficulties were aggravated by considering, that the King was now out of all Hopes of a Composition with the King of *Spain*; For tho' *Ferdinando* had proposed the Restoration of *Federigo* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and for that Purpose *Levi* had conducted that Prince with him into *Italy*, and they had been negotiating a Truce for a certain Time, each Party keeping what he had in possession, yet either Expedient was attended with such Obstacles, that the King of *France*, full of Indignation, dismissed the *Spanish* Ambassadors from his Court.

In this seasonable Juncture the Pope dispatched unto the King *Trocies*, his Chamberlain and great Confident, and promising for himself and *Kalantino* to assist the *French* in the *Neapolitan* War to the utmost of their Power, disposed his Majesty to continue in Friendship with his Holiness. And therefore as soon as *Trocies* was returned to *Rome*, and had made his Report, *Kalantino* secretly took Horse, and rode post to *Milan*, where the King was

A D.
1582.

Pope re-
conciled
to the
King of
France.

A. D. 1502. was arrived, by whom, contrary to all Expectation, and very much to the Dis-satisfaction of every Body, he was received with excessive Honours and Caresses. As there was therefore no Occasion for the *French* Troops to remain in *Tuscany*, the King recalled them into *Lombardy*, first receiving under his Protection the *Senese* and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, on Condition of their paying Forty Thousand Ducats, part in hand, and part at a Time prefixed.

- MAXIMILIAN after a short time began to grow cool in his Motions, and his Projects to evaporate, so that *Lewis* had little else to mind but the Affairs of *Naples*, which seemed hitherto to go on prosperously, and were like to proceed with still greater Success, since the King, as soon as he came into *Italy*, had given Orders for transporting thither by Sea Two Thousand *Swiss*, and above Two Thousand *Gascons*. The Viceroy, who had before reduced all the *Capitanato*, except *Manfredonia* and *St. Angelo*, being joined by this Reinforcement, laid Siege to

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to *Canosa*, where was a Garrison of Six Hundred *Spanish* Foot, commanded by *Pietro Navarra*, who after a brave Defence for many Days, being ordered by *Gonsalvo*, who was willing to save such fine Troops, not to hold out to Extremity, surrendered the Town to the *French*, on Condition that the Besieged should be safe in their Persons and Effects. This Conquest made the *French* Masters of all *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and the *Capitanato*, except the above Places, with *Barletta*, *Andria*, *Gallipoli*, *Taranto*, *Casenza*, *Gbierrace*, *Seminara*, and a few Towns on the Sea Coast. *Gonsalvo* therefore, finding himself much inferior to the Enemy, retreated with his Army, and shut himself up within the Walls of *Barletta*, without Money, with a small Stock of Provision, and in want of Ammunition. But this last Defect was in some measure supplied by the tacit Consent of the *Venetian* Senate, who did not prohibit the buying up of large Quantities of Saltpetre in *Venice*; and when the King of *France* complained of it, they answered, that it was done by private Merchants without their

A. D.
1502.

Canosa
taken by
the *French*

A. D. 1502. their Knowledge; and that in a free City like *Venice*, none was ever forbidden to buy and sell, or traffick in whatever he pleased.

Fatal Resolution of the French

AFTER the taking of *Casosa*, the French Generals considering that for many Reasons, but especially for want of Water, it was by no means advisable to entrench themselves with the whole Army about *Barletta*, resolved, tho' as many affirm, contrary to the Advice and Protestations of *Aubigni*, that the Army, which, as reported, amounted to the Number of Twelve Hundred Lances and Ten Thousand Foot, *Italians* and *Ultramontanes*, should be divided, and while one Part remained before *Barletta*, to block up that Place, the rest should be employed in reducing the other Towns of the Kingdom, a Resolution, as is generally believed, which, added to the Negligence of the French, proved very detrimental to their Affairs. In pursuance of what had been resolved, the Viceroy made himself Master of all *Puglia*, except *Taranto*, *Otranto*, and *Gallipoli*; after which

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which Success, he returned to the Siege of *Barletta*. At the same time *Aubigni* entered *Calabria* with the other part of the Army, where he took and plundered the City of *Cosenza*, the Castle remaining in the Power of the *Spaniards*. After this he gave Battle to the *Spaniards* in that Province, reinforced with others ^{French} from *Sicily*, and defeated them. So many ^{rout the} *Spaniards* fortunate Events, which either happened all, or were in a Course of Succession, while the King was in *Italy*, not only made him the more negligent of continuing to send fresh Supplies, to which if he had been duly attentive, he might easily have chased his Enemies out of the whole Kingdom, but also removed every Objection that might be raised against his Return to *France*, and so much the more, as he hoped to make, as he did soon after, a long Truce with the King of the *Romans*.

At the King's Departure out of *Italy*, to the great Amazement of all the World, began to come to light what he had been treating with *Valentino*, whom, admitting his

A. D. his Justification of himself in the Affair
1502. of *Arezzo*, he had not only received into

League
between
the King
of France,
and the
Pope and
Valentino.

Reasons
inducing
the King
to such an
Agree-
ment.

Favour, but also, on the Promise and solemn Assurances of the Pope and the Duke to assist him, when there should be Occasion, in his Wars in the Kingdom of *Naples*, had reciprocally engaged to assist him with Three Hundred Lances for the Conquest of *Bologna* in the Name of the Church, and for oppressing *Gian Pagolo Baglioni* and *Vitel-
lozzo*. What induced the King so im-
moderately to favour the Grandeur of the Pope, was either an unwary Persua-
sion of the Pope's Sincerity and Friendship, out of Gratitude for so great Benefits, in consequence of which, while their Union subsisted, none would presume to attempt any thing against him in *Italy*; or else because he did not so much rely on the Pope's Friendship, as he stood in fear of his Enmity. To this might be added, that he had conceived a particular Aver-
sion to *Gian Pagolo*, *Vitellozzo*, and the *Orsini*, because they had all despised his Orders to withdraw their Forces from the *Florentine* Dominions; and *Vitellozzo* e-
specially

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specially had refused to restore the Artillery
 which he had seized in *Arezzo*, and
 besides this, after that he had demanded
 and obtained a safe Conduct to appear
 before his Majesty, he had refused to
 come. The King also imagined, that it
 would be of no Disservice to his Interests
 if the *Italian* Generals were oppressed;
 for either thro' the subtle Working of the
 Pope and *Valentino*, or by the Persuasions
 of others, he began to be apprehensive,
 that these Generals, with the *Orsini*,
 would at length espouse the Party, and
 enter into the Pay of the King of *Spain*.

VALENTINO, taking Leave of the
 King at *Asti*, returned to *Romagna*, tho' *Valentino*
 his Majesty had at first given some Hopes ^{grown}
 to those who stood in Fear of the Duke, ^{formida-}
 that, for the common Security, he would ^{ble to the}
 take him with him into *France*. * His ^{*Italian*}
 Princes.

VOL. III. H Return

* In the subsequent Account of the Reasons that
 moved the *Italian* Princes to stand in Fear of *Valentino*,
 you may observe the judicious and natural Arrangement
 by our Author; as, the first is taken from the Nature of
Valentino, after which follow in Order, the Weakness of
 those Princes, the Power of their Enemy, the Favour of
 Fortune in the Respect shown him by the *French* King's
 and lastly, the Examples of his Cruelty.

Y. D. 1502. Return created terrible Apprehensions not only in the Minds of those against whom he directed the Force of his Arms, but also in many others, as in *Pandolfo Petrucci*, and the *Orfini*, who were embarked in much the same Cause as *Vittorioso* and *Gian Pagolo Baglioni*; and the Duke of *Ferrara* stood in greater Fear of the Perfidy and Ambition of the Duke and his Father, than he had Confidence in his Kindred and Alliance with them. As for the *Florentines*, tho' they had recovered their Towns by the King's Favour, they were yet under great Apprehensions, for they were but ill provided with Men at Arms, because *Lewis* not intirely confiding in the Marquis of *Mantoua*, on account of his Dependence contracted with *Cæsar*, when he stood in fear of the King's Forces, tho' he had received him into his Favour when he was at *Milan*, yet would not consent that they should constitute him their Captain General. * And they were convinced by many Signs that the

Reasons
of their
particular
Fears.

* The Marquis had always a considerable Number of Men at Arms, who served under him whenever he was hired.

the Pope and his Son bore them the same Malice, particularly, since, to keep them under perpetual Apprehensions, they had received into their neighbouring Places all the Exiles from *Arezzo* and other Towns. But the Fears of all these Parties were much augmented by considering how much their Enemies had the Advantage in Forces, Money, and Authority, and how greatly Fortune had befriended them in all their Attempts, and that their Lust of Dominion was not in the least satisfied with so many Acquisitions, but, like a Fire continually fed with fresh Supplies of Fuel, was become exorbitant, and boundless. They were not without Jealousies that their Adversaries, confiding in the mighty Respect shown them by the King of *France*, would not stick to undertake any Enterprize, tho' even contrary to his Will. And both the Father and Son were already grown so sanguine, as openly to declare that they repented of their needless Caution and Hesitation in the Affair of *Arezzo*, since they did not doubt but that the King, by means of the powerful Interest which

A. D.
1502.

A. D. they had in his Court, according to the
1602.

Nature of the *French*, would always tolerate when done, what he did not approve of when undertaken. None of the Parties were the less timorous on account of the King's Obligations to protect them, because there were fresh Examples, that he had permitted the Lord of *Piombino* to be deprived of his Dominions; nor had he shewn any Resentment at the same injurious Treatment of the Duke of *Urbino*, tho' he had received him into his Protection, when he ordered his Army to march for *Naples*, because the Duke entered Fifty of his Men at Arms in his Service. But more recent and more terrifying was the Example of *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, for tho' the King, in the Years next preceding, had commanded *Valentino* not to disturb the Peace of *Bologna*, professing that his Engagements with the Pope only concerned those Distinctions of Pre-eminence and Authority, which the Church enjoyed at the very Time when they were made, yet at present, when *Bentivoglio*, taking Alarm at the Preparations which were made

Valentino's Design on Bologna.

made against him, had recourse to his Majesty for Assistance, the King, by changing the Signification of the Words, according to his own different Intentions and Designs, and commenting upon the Capitulations more like a Lawyer than a King, returned for Answer, that the Protection by which he was engaged to defend him, was not designed as an Obstacle to any Attempt of the Pope, except on his own Person, and private Estate. For tho' the Words were general, it was therein specified, that they should be understood so as not to prejudice the Rights of the Church, to which it could not be denied that the City of *Bologna* belonged; and besides, in his League with the Pope, which was prior to all those which he had made in *Italy*, he had obliged himself, in all future Conventions with others, always to this Exception, that "what is herein specified shall not be understood to prejudice the Rights of the Church." The King was not ashamed to persist in this Resolution, being encouraged in it by the Cardinal of *Rouen*, contrary to the Advice of all the

A. D.
1502.French
King's
Evasion.

A. D. 1502. rest of his Council, and accordingly sent to *Bologna* a proper Person to intimate, that the City of *Bologna* being a Fief of the Church, he could not excuse himself from favouring the Pope in his Enterprize; but that the Family of the *Bentivoglii* were at Liberty to live in the City in a private Manner, and to enjoy their Estates by virtue of his Protection.

BESIDES all these Princes, the *Venetians* also began to take Umbrage at *Valentino's* Series of good Fortune; and were moreover provoked against him, because he had but a few Months before shown how little he valued the Authority of the *Venetian* Senate, by having carried off by Force the Wife of *Giovanbattista Carracciolo*, Captain General of their Infantry, in her Passage through *Romagna* to *Urbino*, where she was to meet her Husband. In order therefore to induce the King to be less lavish of his Favours, they undertook freely to admonish him as Friends zealous for his Honour, representing to him by the Mouth of their Ambassadors, in Words becoming the Gravity

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Gravity of so great a Republic, " that A. D. 1502. he would please to consider of what Con-
sequence it might prove to heap so many
Favours on *Valentino*, and how unsuitable Venetians remon-
strate to the King
against Valentino. it was to the Splendor of the House of
France, and the glorious Title of the
most Christian King, to uphold a Tyrant,
the Destroyer of People and Provinces,
an insatiable Thirster after human Blood,
and a public Example of horrible Barba-
rities and Perfidiousness; who, like a
common Robber, had in open Breach of
Faith, most cruelly murdered so many
Lords and Noblemen, and had not ab-
stained from imbruing his Hands in the
Blood of his own Brother and near Kindred,
destroying some by Sword, some by Poison,
and, in short, had been guilty of such
Inhumanities as would have excited Pity
and Compassion in the barbarous *Turks*."
To all this the King, who perhaps was
the more confirmed in his Resolution by
this Remonstrance of the *Venetians*, only
answered, that he was neither willing,
nor thought it his Duty to hinder the
Pope from disposing of the Estates be-

King's
Answer.

H 4

longing

1502. longing to the Church at his own Discre-
A. D. tion.

Confede-
 racy a-
 gainst *Va-*
lentino.

BUT tho' some were restrained, out of Respect to the King, from taking up Arms against *Valentino*, those who lay nearest, and were most exposed to the Danger, resolved to provide in Time for themselves. And therefore the *Orsini*, *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo Baglioni*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, tho' in the Service of *Valentino*, of whom they had lately received their Pay, notwithstanding he pretended to employ his whole Force only against *Bologna*, retired with the Troops under their Command into Places of Security, with a Design to enter into a strict Alliance for their mutual Defence. This Confederacy was accelerated by the Loss of the Castle of *St. Leo*, which was betrayed by a Peasant appointed to guard a certain Work, into the Hands of its old Master *Guidobaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*; and this Beginning gave Occasion for almost all the People of that State to recall their Sovereign, who came from *Venice*, where he had taken Refuge, by

by Sea to *Sinigaglia*, and immediately *A. D.*
 recovered the whole Dutchy, except the ^{1502.} Fortresses.

THERE assembled then at *Magione* in the *Perugine* Cardinal *Orsino*, who after the Departure of the King, being afraid to return to *Rome*, had resided at *Monte Rotondo*, *Pagolo Orsino*, *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, ^{Numbers and Schemes of the Confederates.} and for *Giovanni Bentivogli*, his Son *Hermes*, and in the Name of the *Senese Antonio da Venafro*, a Minister in whom *Pandolfo Petrucci* reposed an entire Confidence. Here the Subject of their Discourse was the Danger to which they were evidently exposed, and the Opportunity now put into their Hands by the Revolt of the State of *Urbino*, and that *Valentino*, being abandoned by them, would have but very few Troops left. After this they entered into a Confederacy for their mutual Defence, and offensive against *Valentino*, and for the Succour of the Duke of *Urbino*, obliging themselves to bring into the Field Seven Hundred Men at Arms, and Nine Thousand Foot; that *Bentivoglio* should

A. D. 1502. should begin Hostilities in the Territory of *Imola*, while the others with a greater Force should proceed towards *Rimini* and *Pesaro*.

IN this Confederacy they took all imaginable Precaution not to provoke the King of *France*, and were in hopes that perhaps he would not be displeased to have *Valentino* distressed by the Arms of others, all professing their Readiness to enter into any Obligation for marching themselves with all their Force, when, and against whom, his Majesty should think fit to order. And for this Reason they would not admit into their Confederacy the *Colonnas*, tho' they were such great Enemies to the Pope, and so much persecuted by him. They solicited also the Favour of the *Venetians*, and of the *Florentines*, offering to these last the Restitution of *Pisa*, which, they said, was in the Disposal of *Pandolfo Petrucci* by means of the Authority which he had acquired over the *Pisans*. But the *Venetians* stood in suspense, expecting to see first how the King of *France* was inclined. And the

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the *Florentines* lay still for that same Reason, and because having both Parties for their Enemies, whoever got the Victory they were likely to suffer.

AN Event so sudden and unforeseen greatly surpris'd Duke *Valentino*, at a Time when, wholly intent on ravaging and seizing the Estates of his Neighbours, he little dreamt of being attacked on his own Ground. He was not however dismayed nor disconcerted by the Greatness of the Danger, but placing an entire Confidence, as he said, in his good Fortune, * he applied himself with the greatest Industry and Prudence to find out proper Remedies. And in the first place, seeing himself in a manner disarm'd, he dispatched away an Express to the King of *France* to beg his Assistance in the most pressing Manner, and to represent how much greater Service his Majesty might, on all accounts, expect from the Pope and himself than from his Enemies, and what little Confidence was to be placed in *Vitellozzo* or

Valentino
craves Aid
of the
King of
France.

Pan-

* With this high Degree of Assurance and Dependence on his good Fortune, he carried on his Ensigns this Motto, *O Cesare O Nulla, Cesare or Nothing.*

A. D.

1502.

Pandolfo, who was the chief Head and Ringleader of all the others, and had before assisted the Duke of *Milan* against him, and since that had always a Dependence on the King of the *Romans*.

NOR was the Duke less diligent in recruiting his Army, not forgetting in the mean time to have recourse, in concert with his Father, to fraudulent Means, and laying of Snares. As for the Pontiff, he try'd all manner of Ways, sometimes excusing Matters that were too apparent, and again denying what were doubtful, to mitigate the Spirit of Cardinal *Orfino*, through the Mediation of *Giulio* his Brother. And *Valentino* was no less busy in attempting, by various Tricks of Flattery, and fair Promises, to mollify, or lull in Security, sometimes one, sometimes another among the Confederates, as well with a View to render them the more negligent in their Preparations, as in Hopes, by these separate Negotiations, to create Jealousies and Disunion among them*.

He attempts to dissolve the Confederacy by Fraud.

His

* The Method here taken by *Valentino* has been often practised as the most effectual Means of dissolving, and consequently of destroying a Confederacy. Thus when

His Resolution was not to remove from *Imola*, till he had got together a powerful Army, and till then to be attentive only to the Security of that and the other Towns in *Romagna*, without sending any Succours to the Dutchy of *Urbino*. For this Purpose he ordered Don *Ugo di Cardona*, and Don *Michele*, his Officers, who lay on the Borders of that State, with One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light Horse, and Five Hundred Foot, to retire to *Rimini*. But they neglected his Orders on account of an Opportunity that offered itself of reducing and plundering *Pergola* and *Fossombrone*, into which they were introduced by the Governors of those Fortresses. But the Event shewed that it would have been better for them to have obeyed the Duke's Orders; for as they were marching towards *Cagli*, not far from

Fossom-

the Emperor *Frederick* was informed that the *Austrians*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians* had confederated against him, "I will, said he, throw an Apple among them, such as" was thrown between the three Goddesses in the Fable, "and set them together by the Ears." He meant the Apple of Discord; and the same artful Way was taken by the famous *Castruccio*, Lord of *Lucca*, to oppress the Marquises of *Malaspina* who were united against him, in which he succeeded to his Wish.

A. D.
1502.

Fassombrone they fell in with *Pagolo* and the Duke of *Gravina*, both of the *Orsini* Family, at the Head of Six Hundred of *Vitellozzo's* Foot, and coming to an Engagement *Valentino's* Men were totally routed, with the Loss of many killed on the Spot, and many taken Prisoners. Among the slain was *Bartolomeo da Capranica* Captain of Seventy Men at Arms, and *Don Ugo di Cardona* was taken Prisoner. *Don Michele* escaped to *Fano*, from whence, by the Duke's Order, he retired to *Pesaro*, leaving *Fano*, as a well-affected Town, in the Custody of the Inhabitants, since he had not a Force sufficient to defend both Places.

WHILE these Things happened the Forces of the *Bolognese* which were quartered at *Castel San Piero*, made an Incursion as far as *Doccia*, a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Imola*; and the Affairs of *Valentino* would certainly have been reduced to a very low Ebb, had the Confederates been but quick in prosecuting those Advantages which they had over him. But whether it happened on account

count of the Forces not being in a Readiness according to Agreement in the Convention, or that the Confederates, being held in Suspense by the separate Negotiations of Peace, began to mistrust one another, and lie upon their Guard, the favourable Opportunity was lost. For the King of France immediately ordered *Chau-
mont* to send away Four Hundred Lances to *Valentino*, and to endeavour by all Means possible to give a Reputation to his Cause. The first News of this Step of the King threw the Affairs of the Allies into strange Confusion, and every one began to think of providing for himself. Cardinal *Orsino* continued negotiating with the Pope, and *Pandolfo Petrucci* sent *Antonio da Venafro* to *Imola*, to treat with *Valentino*. *Giovanni Bentivoglio* also entered into a Treaty with him, and at the same time deputed *Carlo de gl' Ingrati* his Ambassador to the Pontiff, and made Restitution of the Plunder made at *Doccia*; *Valentino* promoted these Negotiations with all the Cunning his Nature afforded, and judging *Pagolo Orsino* a fit Instrument to decoy the rest into his Power, he invited him

A. D.
1502.

III Con-
duct of
the Con-
federates.

A. D. him to *Imola*, on pretence of reposing
 1502. much Confidence in him, and for his
 Security Cardinal *Borgia* put himself
 in the Hands of the *Orsini*. *Pagolo* met
 with nothing but the kindest Expressions
 from *Valentino*, who sorely lamented not
 so much that he and those others of the
 Confederacy, who had all along served
 him with the utmost Fidelity until this un-
 lucky Juncture, should so slightly conceive
 an Aversion to him and his Service on
 some vain Surmises, as blaming his own
 Indiscretion in not knowing how to deal
 with such worthy Men, in such a Manner
 as to leave no Room for those idle Suspi-
 cions: But he was in Hopes that those
 Differences, which arose from no just and
 well grounded Cause, would at last, in-
 stead of Enmity, produce a firm and last-
 ing Peace and Union between him and
 them; since they could not but be sensible
 that it was out of their Power to oppress
 him, because the King of *France* was so
 fully bent in supporting his present Gran-
 deur; and he himself, on the other hand,
 had his Eyes now better opened by Ex-
 perience of the present Event, and did in-
 genuously

Valentino so
 soothes the
 Confede-
 rates with
 fair
 Speeches.

genuously confess that it was by Means of ^{A. D. 1502.} their Counsels, and by the Valour of their Arms, that he was arrived to his present Height of Felicity and Reputation; for which Reasons he was most ardently desirous to renew their antient Friendship, was ready to give them Security in what Manner they pleased, and would leave his Controversies with the *Bolognese*, some Regard being had to his Dignity, to their Arbitration. To all this, which concerned the whole Body of the Allies, he added particular Demonstrations of his extraordinary Confidence in *Pagolo*, filling him with Hopes, and Promises of mighty Matters for his peculiar Share, and with such an Air of Sincerity, as easily gained Credit to all that he said; for he was by Nature a very moving Speaker, and of a ready Wit and Invention.

WHILE these Matters were in Agitation, the People of *Camerino* recalled *Giovan Maria da Varano*, Son of their late Lord, who was at *Aquila*: Much about the same time *Vitellozzo*, to the great Mortification of *Pagolo Orsino* took

D. A. the Castle of *Pesombrone*; and the Cittadel
 1504. of *Urbino* being also in like Manner reduced, and soon after the Fortresses of *Cagli*
 and *Agobbio*, *Valentino* had nothing left in
 that State but *Santa Agata*, and he had be-
 sides lost the whole Territory of *Fano*. *Pagolo*
 however continued his Negotiations; and
 after he had taken several Turns from *Imo-*
la to *Bologna*, in order to give some Form
 to the Affairs of the *Bentivogli*, who were his
 Relations, his Daughter being married to
Hermes, Son of *Giovanni*, the Parties at
 last came to an Agreement, but upon Con-
 dition that it should pass under the Appro-
 bation of Cardinal *Orsino*, to whose Au-
 thority almost all those concerned paid a
 Deference: The Articles were in Sub-
 stance, That all Prejudices conceived on
 either Side, all Animosities, and the
 Remembrance of all past Injuries and Of-
 fences, should be cancelled: That the
 Confederates should be re-established in
 their former Posts in the Army, under an
 Obligation to serve as *Valentino's* Soldiers
 in the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Urbino*;
 and of the other States that had rebel-
 led; but for their Security they should not
 be

Treaty
 between
 the
 Confede-
 rates and
Valentino.

be obliged to serve in Person more than ^{A. D.} one at a time; nor should Cardinal Or- ^{1502.}
sino be bound to reside at the Court of
Rome: Lastly, That the Affairs of *Bo-*
logna should be left to the free Arbitra-
 tion of Duke *Valentino*, Cardinal *Orsino*,
 and *Pandolfo Petrucci*.

WITH this Treaty *Pagolo Orsino*, who
 was every Day more and more satisfied of
 the good Intentions of *Valentino*, set out
 to find the Confederates, and induce
 them to ratify. But *Bentivoglio* think-
 ing it neither safe honourable, nor rea-
 sonable, that his Affairs should be at the
 Disposal of others, who might manage
 them at Discretion, deputed his Son the
 Prothonotary to *Imola*, and receiving Host-
 ages from *Valentino*, concluded a Treaty
 with the Pope and him, to which they
 easily condescended, because they were
 assured that the King of *France* taking in-
 to better Consideration, either the Dis-
 grace, or the Importance of suffering the
 Town of *Bologna* to fall into their Hands;
 had altered his first Resolution, and would
 by no means consent that they should be

A. D. Masters of that City. The Conditions were,

1502.

Treaty
between
Valentino
and the
Bentivogli.

That there should be a perpetual League between *Valentino* on the one Part, and the *Bentivogli*, together with the Community of *Bologna* on the other : That the *Bolognese* should furnish *Valentino* with One Hundred Men at Arms for eight Years, instead of which it was afterwards agreed that they should pay him One Thousand Two Hundred Ducats yearly : That the *Bolognese* should furnish him with One Hundred Men at Arms, and One Hundred Archers on Horseback, but only for the next ensuing Year. That the King of *France* and the *Florentines* should promise to guaranty the Treaty : And lastly for the better Establishment of this Peace, the Son of *Annibale Bentivoglio* should marry a Sister of the Bishop of *Enna*, the Pope's Nephew.

V A L E N T I N O however did not cease soliciting the March of the *French* Troops, and of Three Thousand *Swiss* whom he had taken into his Pay, under Pretence of employing them not against the Confederates, but for the Recovery of the Dutchy
of

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of *Urbino*, and of *Camerino*. For the Confederates were now come to a Resolution to ratify the Agreement that had been made, Cardinal *Orfini*, who was gone to the *Spedaletto*, near *Siena*, being induced also to give his Consent by the Persuasions of *Pagolo*, and the pressing Intreaties of *Pandolfo Petrucci*. *Vitellozzo* likewise and *Gian Pagolo Baglioni*, who were very shy of trusting to *Valentino's* Faith, were, after much Reluctancy, brought at last to accede to this Treaty. The same was afterwards ratified by the Pope; on which the Duke of *Urbino*, tho' his Subjects, professing their Readiness to sacrifice their Lives for his Preservation, prayed him not to leave them, apprehending more from the Power of the Military, than he had Confidence in the Favour of the Populace, gave Way to the Fury of his Enemies, and returned to *Venice**, having first dismantled all the fortified Places of his Dutchy, except *St. Lea* and *Maiuolo*. And the People, to whom *Valentino* had commissioned *Antonio del Monte a san So-*

Confederates sign
a Treaty
of Peace
with *Valentino*.

I 3

vino,

* The Senate allowed the Duke a Pound of Gold every Month for his Table. *Bembo*.

A. D.
1502.

vino, afterwards Cardinal, with full Power to grant a Pardon, returned by Agreement under his Yoke; as did also the City of *Camerino*, their Lord having deserted them and fled to *Naples*, in a great Consternation, on Advice that *Vitellozzo* and the others having resumed their Posts in the Army under *Valentino*, were marched out of the Territory of *Fano*, and were preparing to attack him. At the same time the Pope ordered *Palombara* to be besieged; which Town had been lately recovered by the *Savelli*, together with *Sensano* and other Castles belonging to them, taking their Opportunity from the Commotions raised by the Confederates.

BUT Duke *Valentino*, longing to put in Execution what he had secretly resolved, removed from *Imola* to *Cesena*, where he was no sooner arrived than the French Lances, who were come but a few Days before, all of a sudden left him, being recalled by *Chaumont*, not by Order of the King, but, as some say, from a private Misunderstanding between him and *Valentino*; or rather because it was of the Duke's own

The
French
Troops
quit *Valentino*.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 135

own procuring, in order to render himself ^{A. D. 1507,} less formidable to those whom he would by all means induce to think themselves in perfect Security*. At *Cesena* he made a Review of his Troops, which were more numerous than was reported, because he had purposely avoided enlisting great Numbers in any one Place, but he was continually taking into his Service broken Lances, and private Gentlemen.

IN the mean time *Vitellozzo* and the *Orsini* had by the Duke's Orders laid Siege to *Sinigaglia*, and taken both the Town and Castle, the Governess, who was Sister to the Duke of *Urbino*, saving herself by Flight, being abandoned by all, tho' her Son, a Child, was under the Protection of the King of *France*, who excused himself from assisting her, because she was a Party in the Confederacy of *Magione*. ^{Takes Sinigaglia.}

I 4

A F T E R

* This last Opinion agrees in part with that of *Buonacorsi*, who says that *Valentino* on the 20th of December dismissed his *French* Troops, because he thought himself strong enough without them.

A. D.

1502.

*Valentino's crafty
Proceedings.*

AFTER the taking of *Sinigaglia Valentino* went to *Fano*, where having stayed some Days to assemble all his Troops, he gave Notice to *Vitellozzo* and the *Orfni*, that he intended the next Day to take up his Quarters in *Sinigaglia*, and therefore desired them to remove their Soldiers which were quartered in the Town without the Walls. His Orders were soon put in Execution, and Lodgings provided for the Infantry in the Suburbs of the City, and the Men at Arms distributed about the Country. The next Day according to Appointment *Valentino* comes to *Senigaglia*, and was met by *Pagolo Orfino*, the Duke of *Gravina*, *Vitellozzo*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, all whom he received with wonderful Caresses, and was attended by them to the Gate of the City, before which all *Valentino's* Men were drawn up in Order. Here they offered to take their Leave, in order to retire to their Lodgings, which were without the Walls, being under some Apprehensions from observing the Number of his Forces, which was greater than they expected, But he intrated

THE WARS IN ITALY. 137

treated them to accompany him into the A. D.
1502.
Town, because he wanted to discourse

with them. It was not in their Power to refuse, and so with drooping Spirits, which presaged that some great Mischief was near at hand, they attended him to his Quarters, and retired with him into a Chamber. Here after some little Discourse he left them with an Excuse that

he wanted to change his Apparel*; and at that Instant the Guardsmen rushed into the Chamber, and made them all four Prisoners; at the same time he gave Orders for disarming and stripping their Soldiers.

The next Day, which was the last of December, that the Year 1502 might terminate in a Tragedy, he ordered *Vitellozzo*

Valentino seizes the four Chiefs of the Confederates.

Vitellozzo and *Liverotto* and strangled.

* *Buenacorsi* says that *Valentino's* Excuse was the Necessities of Nature, and that he said he would be with them again in a few Moments. The same Historian informs us that while *Valentino* was scouring the Streets with his Soldiers, and cutting to Pieces some of *Liverotto's* Party which had entered the City, he happened to meet with the *Florentine* Envoy, to whom he said " Sir, what is done is no more than what I had a Mind to tell to M. di *Volterra* in *Urbino*, but could not prevail with myself to discover the Secret. But the Opportunity is now come, and I have been wise enough to improve it, and in so doing have done a great Pleasure to your Masters."

A. D. and *Liverotto* to be strangled in one Chamber, and reserved the other two in Prison.

1502.

As for *Vitellozzo*, he could not avoid the Fate that attended his Family, which was to die a violent Death, as did all his Brothers. at a Time when they were arrived to a high Degree of Reputation for their Valour and Experience in military Affairs, and that successively, one after another, according to the Order of their Ages. *Giovanni* the eldest was killed with a Cannon Ball, at the Siege which Pope *Immoent* ordered to be laid to *Osimo*; *Camillo*, in the French Service, was killed with a Stone at the Attack of *Circelle*, and *Pagolo* was beheaded in *Florence*. But as

Treacherous and cruel Fact of *Liverotto*.

for *Liverotto* none can deny that he met with a Punishment suitable to his Crimes; it being very just that he should die by Treachery, who not long before, in order to establish his Authority in *Fermo*, had in a most treacherous and cruel Manner murdered his Uncle *Giovanni Frangiani*, with many others of the principal Citizens, of whom he had invited to a Feast at his own House.

THIS

THIS Year afforded nothing else remarkable, except that *Lodovico* and *Federigo* of the Family of the *Pichi* Counts of *Mirandola*, being expelled by *Giovanfrancesco* their Brother, and laying Claims to the same Rights as he himself, tho' he was their Elder, procured some Assistance of Soldiers from the Duke of *Ferrara*, whose natural Sister was their Mother, and from *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, Father-in-Law to *Lodovico*, with which they drove away their Brother by Force of Arms. This Affair is scarce worth mentioning of itself, but in succeeding Years the Disputes between the Brothers produced Events of some Consequence.

Civil Dis-
sentions
between
Brothers.

THE Year 1503 will appear to be as full of memorable Actions, and important Events, as any of the preceding. And here what first occurs in Order of Time, is the Perfidy and Impiety of the Head of the Christian Religion, who little expected what was to befall himself and his Affairs in the Course of this Year.

1503.

VALEN-

A. D.

1503.

Cardinal
Orfino and
others
made Pri-
soners.

VALENTINO then having, with all possible Speed, as it was concerted between them, acquainted the Pope of the happy Success of his ensnaring Plot in *Sinigaglia*, his Holiness kept his Advice very secret, and took Care that it should not be divulged by any other Way. This done, under colour of Business, he sent in all Haste for Cardinal *Orfino*, to come to the Vatican, who relying on the late Treaty, and trusting to the Faith of one whom all the World knew to have none, led by Fate more than by Reason, was but a few Days before come to *Rome*. He was no sooner arrived in the Palace than he was made a Prisoner; and at the same time were seized in their Houses *Rinaldo Orfino*, Archbishop of *Florence*, the Prothonotary *Orfino*, the Abbot *Alviano*, Brother of *Bartolomeo*, and *Jacopo Santa Croce*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, who were Heads of that Faction, and were all committed to the Castle of *St. Angelo*. The Pope sent the Prince of *Squillaci*, his Son, to take possession of the Estates of *Pagolo* and of the rest; and sent with him

THE WARS IN ITALY. 141

him the Prothonotary, and *Jacopo Santa A. D.*
Croce, to order the Assignments, after 1503.
 which they were remanded back under

Custody. The Pope took oc-

e mighty arch, after his *Spanish*

Manner, on what his Son had

For, says he, it was *Pagolo*

! the rest that were the first

of their Word, for they had

mselves to go to him but one

, and yet they came all toge-

surely it was no less lawful for

reak his Word with them."

nal was under Confinement

nty Days, the Pope pretending

asons for imprisoning so aged a

enerable, and so antient a Cardi-

last it came to be talked abroad,

as taken sick and died in the

every one believed, of Poison.

, to clear himself of the Im-

ho' he used to be Proof against

aised his Corpse to be carried

ulchre in open Day, and un-

tended by his Domesticks, and

dinals; and the rest of the Pri-

giving Security for their

Ap-

Cardinal
Orsini
 thought
 to be poi-
 soned.

A. D. Appearance, were, not long after, dis-
 1503. charged.

BUT *Valentino*, who did not care to be wicked without a Reward, departed without Delay from *Sinigaglia*, and directed his March towards *Citta di Castello*, which he found abandoned by all those who remained alive of the Family of the *Vitelli*; for as soon as they had heard of the Death of *Vitellozzo*, they betook themselves to Flight. From thence the Duke continued his March towards *Perugia*, whence fled *Gian Pagolo*, who being more cautious than the rest, had declined to go to *Sinigaglia*; but he was only reserved to a greater tho' a later Punishment *. *Valentino* left both these Cities under the Dominion of the Church; recalling to *Perugia* *Carlo Baglione*, with the *Oddi*, and others that were Enemies to *Gian Pagolo*. And now thinking he had a fair Opportunity of making himself Master of *Siena*, he continued his March; attended by some Exiles of that City; and his Army just reinforced by the
 Bo-

* He was beheaded at *Rome* by Order of Pope *Leo X.*

Bolognese Auxiliaries, to *Castel della Pieve*. A. D. 1502.
 Here receiving Intelligence of the Apprehending of Cardinal *Orfino*, he caused the Duke of *Gravina* and *Pagolo Orfino* to be strangled; and sent Ambassadors to *Siena* to demand of the Citizens the Expulsion of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, as his Enemy, and a Disturber of the Tranquility of *Tuscany*; promising, if he were driven away, to depart with his Army into the Territory of *Rome*, without any further Damage to their Country. But on the other hand the Pope as well as himself had a long-ing Desire that *Pandolfo*, who had been an Accomplice with the rest in their Life, should also accompany them to the Grave. For this End they had endeavoured by all means to lull him asleep by the same Arts as had succeeded with the others. The Pope writ Briefs and Letters in the kindest Terms, and sent him Expresses with Messages full of Affection, and sweet Expressions. But a Suspicion, which had possessed the People of *Siena*, that the Pontiff and his Son had formed a Design to seize their City, rendered their Plot upon *Pandolfo* the more difficult.

For

A. D.

1503.

For many of the Citizens, who were discontented under the ordinary Course of his Administration, thought it better, under the present Circumstances, to temporize a little, and bear with the Tyranny of a Fellow Citizen, than subject themselves to a foreign Yoke. Hence by the Answer that was given at first to *Valentino's* Demand, he had no Reason to hope for the Departure of *Pandolfo*. But he, continuing in his Diffimulation, and pretending he desired and insisted only on this one Point, proceeded further on their Territory, and advanced as far as *Pienza**, *Chiufi*, and other neighbouring Towns, which all yielded upon Composition. The City of *Siena* now began to be in a Consternation, and it was talked among the People, and even by some of the Chiefs, that it was by no means expedient, that for the sake of maintaining the Power of one Citizen the whole City should be exposed to Ruine. But *Pandolfo*

* In *Pienza* Duke *Valentino* came to an Agreement with the Ambassadors of *Siena* about the Departure of *Pandolfo*, for whom he promised to procure a safe Conduct thro' the Dominions of *Florence*; and in this he was as good as his Word. *Buonacorsi*.

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dolfo resolved on doing with a good Grace, ^{A. D. 1503.} and Thanks from all People, what he doubted he should at last be compelled to do with the universal Hatred of all Ranks, and his own private Danger and Damage. By his Consent, therefore, it was signified to *Valentino* in the Name of the Public, that they were content to comply with his Demand, provided he would remove with his Army from their Territories. This Resolution of the Citizens, tho' the Pope and his Son aimed at higher Matters, was accepted; considering that it would be a difficult Task to take *Siena*, a large Town, strong by Situation, in which was *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, with a good Number of Soldiers, and where the People, when assured that *Valentino* had other Designs besides the Expulsion of *Pandolfo*, would join as one Man to resist him. To this it might be added, that the Pope thought it necessary, for his own Security, that his Son should return with his Army to *Rome*, where they were under Apprehensions of some Commotions. For *Giulio* and some others of the *Orsini* were come to *Pitigliano*, and

Pandolfo
leaves
Siena.

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K

Fabio

A. D.

1503.

Fabio and *Organtino Orsini* with a good Number of Horse were in *Cervetri*; and *Mutio Colonna* had marched from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and was entered into *Palombara* for the Assistance of the *Savelli*, which Family, by a late Marriage, had established a new Correspondence, and contracted Affinities with the *Orsini*. But what more effectually damped their Hopes of getting *Siena*, was their Assurance, that the King of *France*, tho' at the Beginning dubious how to act, appeared now displeased at such an Undertaking. For tho' he had wished to see *Vitellozzo* and the other Confederates humbled, he soon perceived that their total Ruin, with the Addition of so many States, would make the Pope and *Valentino* too powerful. Besides the City of *Siena* and *Pandolfo* were under his Protection, and the Place did not appertain to the Church but the Empire; for which Reasons he thought he might very justly oppose such an Acquisition. The Pope and his Son had also some Hopes, that by the Departure of *Pandolfo*, the Government of *Siena* would be thrown into

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into some Confusion, which in Process of A. D.
1503.
Time might give an Opportunity for colouring their Design.

PANDOLFO then departed from *Siena* *, but left the same Guard, and the same Authority in his Friends and Dependants, so that no visible Alteration appeared in the Government; and *Valentino* directed his March towards *Rome*, *Valentino attacks the Orsini,* fully bent on the Destruction of the *Orsini*, who, in conjunction with the *Savelli*, had taken *Ponte a Lamentano*, and scoured all the Country. But they were now curbed by the Coming of *Valentino*, who immediately fell upon the Estate of *Giangiordano*, without regarding that he was no professed Enemy, had a Command in the *French* Army, had received the Order of *St. Michael*, was under the King's Protection, and now actually in his Service in the

K 2 King-

* *Pandolfo* left *Siena* on Jan. 23, 1503, accompanied by *Gio. Pagolo Baglioni*, as far as *Lucca*. *Valentino* sent Fifty Horse to waylay him, and destroy him; but they happened to be so long retained at *Cascina* by the *Florentine* Governor, under some Suspicion, that *Pandolfo* got safe to *Pisa*. *Benacorsi*.

A. D. Kingdom of *Naples*. The Pope pleaded

1503.

in Justification of this Step to the King, that he was not moved by a covetous Desire of depriving *Giangiordano* of his Estate, but so heinous were the Injuries and Affronts which he had received from the Family of the *Orsini*, that he could not with Safety have him for his near Neighbour; and therefore he would willingly give him the Principality of *Squillaci*, and other Lands equivalent in recompense for his Damages. But the King would not accept these Excuses, but highly resented such an Insult, not so much because he had more Regard than usual to the Violation of his Protection, as for that his Affairs being on the Decline in the Kingdom of *Naples*, he began to take Umbrage at the Audaciousness and Insolence of the Pope and *Valentino*.

King of
France
jealous of
Valentino.

And now he called to Mind the Invasion of *Tuscany* in the last Year, and what they had since attempted against *Siena*, without Regard to his Protection. He considered also that the more they had obtained, or should hereafter obtain of him, the more greedy they were, and would

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would always be coveting after more. ^{A. D. 1503.} And therefore he sent a sharp Message to *Valentino*, commanding him to desist from molesting the Estate of *Giangiordano*, who by Ways unknown, and not without great Hazard, had got into *Bracciano*. Besides this, it appearing necessary to secure the Affairs of *Tuscany* from suffering any Alteration, and the King understanding that, in *Siena* particularly, civil Dissentions began to arise, by Advice of the *Florentines*, began to treat about recalling thither *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who had taken up his Residence in *Pisa*, and of forming a League between the *Florentines*, *Senese*, and *Bolognese* for their mutual Defence; in which, to remove all Cause of Dissention, *Montepulciano* was to be restored to the *Florentines*, and each Party, according to their Ability, was to provide themselves with a Number of Men at Arms, for their common Security, and to deprive the Pope and *Valentino* of the Power of extending themselves further in *Tuscany*. *

K 3

IN

* *Citta di Castello &c.* which *Valentino* had taken, were then part of *Tuscany*.

A. D.

1503.

IN the mean time *Valentino*, with Part of his Army, took *Vicovaro*, where *Giangiordano* had a Garrison of Six Hundred Foot ; but on receiving the *French King's* Command, he raised the Siege of *Bracciano*, to his own and the Pope's great Mortification, and went to invest *Ceri*, in which were *Giovanni Orsino*, Lord of that Place, with his Son *Renzo*, and *Giulio* and *Frangiotto* of the same Family. At the same time the Father proceeded in a Course of Justice against the whole House of the *Orsini*, except *Giangiordano*; and Count *Pitigliano*, the latter of whom the *Venetians* would not suffer to be molested.

Descrip-
tion of
Ceri.

CERI is a Town of great Antiquity, and much celebrated for the Strength of its Situation, which is on a Mount, or rather on a Rock of one entire Stone. After the *Romans* had received that signal Defeat by the *Gauls* at the River *Allia*, now called *Caminata*, despairing of defending *Rome*, they sent the Vestal Virgins, with the most secret and venerable Images

Images of the Gods, and a Multitude of other sacred and religious Trinkets, to *Ceri*, as a Place of Security; on which account they remained inviolate in succeeding Times, and escaped the Rage of the *Barbarians*, when in the declining State of the *Roman* Empire, like an Inundation, they overspread all *Italy*. The natural Strength of this Place, with a numerous and courageous Garrison, rendered *Valentino's* Attack difficult, tho' he used all the Means that Art or Industry could afford to reduce it, employing besides many other Instruments of War, Iron Hooks, and several wooden Machines for scaling the Walls.

DURING this Siege, *Francesco da Pandolfo Narni* was sent to *Siena* by the King of *France*, to notify, that it was his royal Pleasure that *Pandolfo* should be recalled, having before brought him under an Obligation to be true to his Majesty's Interest, and to send his eldest Son to *France* as an Hostage; besides which, he was to pay what remained of the Forty Thousand Ducats due by Treaty,

D. A. and to restore *Montepulciano* to the *Flo-*

1503.

rentines. When this came to be known in *Siena*, *Pandolfo's* Return met with little Opposition, being promoted by the Authority of the royal Name; openly countenanced by the *Florentines*, and highly agreeable to the Citizens his Friends, who took up Arms on the Night before the Day appointed for his Arrival, which struck an Awe into all those who were of different Sentiments.

Palombara, Ceri, &c. taken by the Pope's Forces.

THE Pope was extremely mortified at this Event, tho' his Designs in other Quarters went on prosperously. For *Palombara* and the other Towns of the *Savelli* were surrendered to him; and the Garrison of *Ceri*, being tired out with continual Watching Night and Day, and by frequent Attacks, surrendered up the Place, upon Condition that *Giovanni*, Lord of the Town, should receive of the Pontiff a certain Sum of Money, and that he and all the rest should be suffered to depart in Safety to *Pitigliano*; which Articles were, contrary to the Pope's Custom,

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Custom, and to universal Expectation, *A. D.*
faithfully observed. 1593.

THE Affairs of the *French* in the The Af-
fairs of
Naples. Kingdom of *Naples* were not in the like prosperous Condition, having in the Beginning of this Year, met with a considerable Check. For Count *Meleto*, with the Forces belonging to the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignano*, having laid Siege to *Terranuova*, Don *Ugo di Cardona*, with Eight Hundred *Spanish* Foot, which had served under *Valentino*, and which he had conducted from *Rome*, and One Hundred Horse, and Eight Hundred Foot *Sicilians* and *Calabrians*, passed over from *Messina* to *Calabria*, and drawing up his Forces at *Seminara*, marched to raise the Siege. Count *Meleto*, on Advice of his Motions, decamped from *Terranuova* with a Design to encounter him. The Way that the *Spaniards* took lay through a narrow Plain, between a Mountain and the Bed of a River, that carried but a very small Stream, but had a considerable Declivity of its Bank from the Road. The *French*, who were superior in Number, marched
over

1503.
A. D.French
defeated
near Ter-
ramuova.

over against them on the other Side of the River, with a Design to draw them over into the open Plain. But perceiving that they marched forwards, in firm and close Order, and being apprehensive that if they did not intercept their Passage, they would proceed without Disturbance to *Terramuova*, they passed the River to attack them, but what with the Valour of the *Spanish* Infantry, inured to War, and what with the Declivity of the Bank, which was a considerable Disadvantage to the *French*, they were defeated.

Not long after arrived at *Messina* from *Spain* by Sea, Two Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Jennets, and Two Thousand Foot, under the Command of *Manuelo di Benavida*, accompanied by *Antonio da Leva*, who, from the lowest Degree of a common Soldier, ascended afterwards through all the military Ranks to the highest Degree of Captain General, and signalized his Name by many Victories in *Italy*. These new Supplies crossed over from *Messina* to *Reggio* in *Calabria*, taken not long before by the
Spaniards,

THE WARS IN ITALY. 155

Spaniards, while *Aubigni* was in another Part of *Calabria*, which Province was almost wholly at his Devotion. From *Reggio* they removed their Quarters to *Sesarno*, Five Miles from *Calimero*, in which were *Ambricourt* with Thirty Lances, and Count *Meleto* with One Thousand Foot, which had all entered the Place Two Days before. The *Spaniards* presenting themselves next Morning, at Break of Day, before the Walls, which had no *Calimera* Gates, but only a Bar, at the second taken by Storm. Assault carried the Town, after a brave Resistance, in which *Spirto*, an Officer of Note among the Besieged, was killed, and *Ambricourt* taken Prisoner; but Count *Meleto* saved himself by retiring into the Castle, which was not attacked, because the *Spaniards* soon after retreated in all haste to *Terranuova*, to avoid *Aubigni*, who with Three Hundred Lances, Three Thousand foreign Foot, and Two Thousand Foot of the Country, was advanced near them. After this Action *Aubigni* entrenched himself at *Pollistrine*, a Castle in the Neighbourhood. But the *Spaniards*, being in Want of Provisions, secretly decamped

A. D. 1503. camped one Night, and took their March towards *Gbierace*. *Aubigni* followed and came up with them at the Foot of a Hill of difficult Ascent, where they lost Sixty Men at Arms, and a good Number of their Foot; of the *French* was killed Captain *Grugni*, an Officer of great Reputation, who had advanced too forward. He commanded the Company that belonged to the late Count *Gajazzo*, who died a natural Death soon after the Taking of *Capua*.

Action to
the Ad-
vantage
of the
French.

ABOUT this Time arrived in *Sicily* another Fleet from *Spain*, in which were Two Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, Commanded by *Portocarrera*, who dying afterwards at *Reggio*, whither he had transported himself with his Troops, was succeeded by Don *Ferrando d' Andrada* his Lieutenant. The *Spaniards* refuming new Spirits from this Reinforcement, returned from *Gbierace*, whither they had retreated, to *Terranuova*, where they fortified themselves in a Part of the Town contiguous to the Castle, which was

THE WARS IN ITALY. 157

was in their Possession, and overlooks a Valley, adjoining to which is the rest of the Town. Here they lay under Apprehensions from *Aubigni*, and not without Reason, for that General speedily marched from *Pollistrine*, and took up his Quarters in that Part of the Town which was free from the *Spaniards*. And now both Parties went hard to Work in drawing Trenches, and erecting Barricades, for the better Separation and Defence of their respective Quarters. But *Aubigni*, on Advice that the *Spaniards*, who had landed at *Reggio*, were in Motion to join those in *Terranuova*, left that Place, and retired to *Losarno*; and the *Spaniards*, took up their Quarters altogether within the Town of *Seminara*, where they knew they could be well supplied with Provisions.

DURING these Transactions in *Calabria* the French Viceroy returned towards *Barletta*, and fixing his head Quarters at *Matera* distributed his Troops in the circumjacent Places, with a Design to intercept all Provisions from entering *Barletta*, in hopes that by the Pestilence and Famine,

A. D. mine, which both raged in that Place,
 1503. the *Spaniards* would be quite disabled either
 to maintain themselves in that Town, or
 to make a Retreat to *Trani*, where they
 would meet with the same Disasters. But
 they struggled through so many Difficul-
 ties and Dangers with amazing Perseve-
 rance, in which they were mightily en-
 couraged and heartened by the exemplary
 Resolution and Vigilance of *Gonsalvo*, who
 was perpetually feeding them with Hopes,
 sometimes of the Arrival of Two Thou-
 sand German Foot, which he had ordered
Ottaviano Colonna to raise in *Germany*,
 sometimes of other Succours; and some-
 times by spreading a Report that he intend-
 ed to retire by Sea to *Taranto*. But of
 much more Efficacy was his own Exam-
 ple, in participating of all the Fatigues, and
 of all the Distresses for Want of Provisions
 and of all other Necessaries, with a cheer-
 ful Spirit. *

Good
 Conduct
 and Reso-
 lution of
Gonsalvo.

SUCH

* *Givens* in his *Life of Gonsalvo*, Lib. II. tells us, that
M. de Nemours, who was encamped two Miles from *Bar-
 letta*, sent a Challenge to the *Spanish* General to come
 out with his Army, and fight him in the open Field. But
Gonsalvo returned for Answer, that he was not used to
 fight when his Enemy pleased, but at his own Discretion,
 and when he saw a fit Opportunity.

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A. D.

1503.

SUCH was the State of the War in Naples when the Spaniards, who had hitherto been inferior to their Enemies, through the Negligence and insolent Behaviour of the French, began to get the upper Hand of them. For the Inhabitants of *Castellana*, a Town not far from *Barletta*, being enraged at the Insults which they suffered from fifty French Lances quartered upon them, rose in Arms against them with one Consent, and disarmed and stripped them. And not long after *Gonsalvo* receiving Intelligence that *Monf. de la Palissa*, who with Three Hundred Lances and Three Hundred Foot was quartered in the Town of *Rubos* twelve Miles from *Barletta*, kept but a loose Guard, he marched one Night out of *Barletta* and arrived before *Rubos*, where he very quickly placed some Artillery which he had brought with him through the plain Road with a great deal Ease, and gave an Assault with such Vigour that the French, who expected nothing less, being taken unprovided, were so terrified that they made but a weak Defence, and were all with *Palissa* taken Prison-

French Affairs on the decline in Naples.

A. D. Prisoners; and the same Day *Gonsalvo* returned to *Barletta*, without Fear of being molested in his Retreat by *Nemours*, who was gone to *Canosa* a few Days before. For the *French* Troops which kept *Barletta* blockaded were quartered at such Distances, and, perhaps for their better Convenience, distributed into so many Places, that there was no Time to assemble them in a sufficient Body; besides, Fifty *French* Lances sent to intercept a Supply of Money that was coming from *Trani* to *Barletta*, were routed by the Convoy which *Gonsalvo* had appointed to guard it.

UPON the Neck of these unlucky Accidents happened another, which mightily checked the Forwardness of the *French*, who had no Cause to lay the Blame on the Malignity of Fortune, since the Event must be accounted the pure Effect of true Valour and Resolution. The Matter of Fact was thus: A *French* Trumpet that was sent to *Barletta* to treat about the Ransom of some Soldiers taken at *Rubos*, heard some *Italian* Men at Arms speak in Terms reflecting on his Countrymen. Of this

THE WARS IN ITALY. 161

this he made a Report at his Return to the 4. D.
1503.
Camp, which occasioned an Answer to the *Italians*, and both Parties were so heated as to kindle a general Resentment, which had no Way to vent itself till it was at length agreed that, for the Honour of their respective Nations, Thirteen *French* Men at Arms should enter the Lifts, with as many *Italians* in an open secure Place, and combat till the Victory was decided. Accordingly there was a plain Space of Ground appointed between *Barletta*, *Andria*, and *Quadrata*, to which the Champions were conducted by a set Number of their Comrades; and, for further Security against Ambuscades, each of the Generals with the greater Part of his Army, accompanied them halfway, animating them, and charging them that, as Men selected from the whole Army, they should be sure to answer, both in Heart and Hand, the Expectations conceived of them, which ran so high, that in their Hands and in their Valour the Honour of such noble Nations was, by common Consent, entrusted. The *French* Viceroy animated his Men by reminding them that those they saw before

VOL. III. L. them,

A. D. 1503. them, were the very same *Italians* who

had trembled at the Name of the *French*, and had always taken Care to get out of their Way, without giving them an Opportunity of exercising their Valour. How often had they traversed their Country from the *Alps* to the utmost Point of *Italy*; that their Adversaries had not acquired new Spirits or Vigour, nor were inspired with a fresh Generosity of Soul; but being in the Pay of the *Spaniards*, and under their Command, they had not the Power to contradict the Will of their Masters, who were accustomed not to encounter their Enemies with plain Valour, and open Force, but to circumvent them by Wiles and Stratagems, and now intended to be idle Spectators of the Dangers of others. But as soon as these *Italians* shall be brought into the Field, and confronted with the Arms and fierce Looks of those who have always beaten them, their usual Fright will return, and either they will have no Heart to fight at all, or else will fight under such Fear, as to make them an easy Prey; the lofty Speeches and vain Bravades of the *Spaniards*,

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niards, being but a poor Foundation for ^{4. D.} raising the Spirits, and a very frail Buckler ¹⁵⁹³ against pointed Steel, and the Fury of the Conqueror,

ON the other Side *Gonsalvo* was heart-^{Gonsalvo's} ening and stimulating his *Italians* with ^{animating} equally pungent Motives. He recalled ^{Speech to} to their Mind the antient Glory of their Na-^{ans.} tion, and the Honours acquired by their Arms, which had rendered them Masters of the World. It was, said he, in the Power of those few brave Men, who were not inferior in Valour to their Ancestors, to make it appear to all the World, that *Italy*, the Conqueress of all Nations, had, for a few Years past, been over-run by foreign Armies for no other Reason but the Imprudence of its Princes, who prompted by Ambition first fell out among themselves, and then called in Foreigners, to enable them to get the better of one another. The *French*, he told them, had never obtained a Victory in *Italy* by true Valour, but under the Conduct, or by the Arms of the *Italians* themselves; or by the Fury of their Artillery, the Dread of

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which,

A. D. 1503. which, as an Instrument of War unknown in *Italy*, and not the Fear of their Arms, opened them a Passage into the Country. But now they had an Opportunity given them of fighting with Sword and Lance, Body to Body, where each of them had Liberty to display his own personal Valour, and be a glorious Spectacle to the chief Christian Nations, and before so great a Number of noble Persons of their own Country, all of whom, as well of one Side as the other, were extremely desirous that they should get the Victory. * That they should remember that they were trained under the most famous Captains of *Italy*, continually exercised in Arms, and that there was not a single Person of their Number but had given Proofs of his Valour in various Places, and much to his Honour. For them, therefore, it was reserved, either, by coming off Conquerors, to retrieve the Honour of the *Italian* Nation, and render its Name glorious and formidable, as it had been, not only in the Days of their

Ancestors,

* This is said with relation to the *Italians* in the *French* Army.

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Ancestors, but even in their own Times; ^{A. D. 1503.}
 or else, if Victory was not in the
 Power of such Hands as theirs, that
 there could be no Room, to hope
 for better Times, but that *Italy* must
 forever remain in a State of per-
 petual and ignominious Servitude. *
 The other Officers and private Soldiers
 of both Armies were no less solicitous
 in stimulating their Champions, and kind-
 ling their Courage, charging them to
 shew their Bravery, and to behave like
 themselves, and worthy of the Confidence
 reposed in them, for augmenting, by
 their own proper Valour, the Glory and
 Splendor of their Nations,

THUS charged and animated the
 Champions were conducted into the
 Field; each one full of Ardor, and in
 high Spirits, where both Parties were in-
 closed within a List, opposite to each
 L 3 other.

* *Giovio*, in his *Life of Gonsalvo*, says that *Prospero Colonna* first harangued the *Italian* Champions, and then *Gonsalvo* made a Speech to them. He describes also the Manner in which the *Italians* and their Horses were armed, the Rewards proposed, and the extraordinary Length of their Lances, which got them the Victory.

A. D. 1503. other *. The Signal being given, they ran furiously at each other with their Lances, † in which Encounter none seeming to have the Advantage, they laid their Hands to their other Weapons with great Force and Animosity, each one exerting himself in so extraordinary a Manner, as to beget in all the Spectators a tacit Confession, that no Soldiers more valiant, nor more worthy to act so glorious a Part, could have been selected out of both Armies. But when they had combated a good while, and the Ground was covered with Pieces of Armour, and Blood that issued out of the Wounds given on both Sides, and the Event was as yet uncertain, all the Beholders keeping a profound Silence, and being almost under as much Anxiety and Concern of Mind as the Combatants themselves, it happened that

* The Field was marked out halfway between *Quadrata* and *Andria* with a Plow-share, and contained a Furlong.

† The *Italians*, *Giovio* says, without putting Spurs to their Horses, rested their Lances, and in that Posture expected the Shock of the *French*, who ran themselves deep upon the Points of the Lances, which were longer than ordinary, before they could reach the Cuirasses of their Adversaries.

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that *Guglielmo Albimonte*, * one of the *Italians*, was thrown from his Horse by ^{A. D. 1503.} a *Frenchman*, who ran fiercely upon him with his Horse to dispatch him; but ^{Frenchmen worsted by the} *Francesco Salamone* running to assist his Companion, fetched a full Blow at the *Frenchman*, who, being intent on the Slaughter of *Albimonte*, was not on his Guard, which struck him dead on the Spot †. After this he and *Albimonte*, who had recovered himself, with *Miale*, who had also been wounded, and dismounted, fell upon sticking the Enemy's Horses with long Swords, which they had provided for that Purpose, and killed several of them, by which Means the *Frenchmen* began to have the worst of the Combat, and at last, some of the *Italians* took one, some another of them, till they were all made Prisoners,

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THE

* *Albimonte* and *Sidicino* were pushed off their Horses quite without the Lists; but *Brancaloni* and *Tanfulla*, tho' dismounted, got upon their Feet, and betook themselves to their long Swords. *Giovio*.

† This was *Claudio* of *Aspi*, (a City of *Piedmont* in *Italy*, then belonging to the *French*) who met with the just Reward of his Folly in fighting for a Foreign Nation against the Honour of his own Country,

A. D.

1503.

THE Victors were received with joyful Acclamations by their Comrades, and treated by *Gonsalvo*, who met them halfway, with all the Expressions of Gladness and Respect, congratulating each Man in particular, and all in general, as Restorers of the *Italian* Honour. They afterwards made their Entry into *Barletta*, in a triumphant Manner with their Prisoners, amidst the Sound of Drums and Trumpets, and the Noise of Cannon, and accompanied with military Shouts and Huzzas. And since they have richly deserved that every *Italian* should do what in him lieth to transmit their Names to Posterity, by the Benefit of Writing, I shall give their Names. *Ettore Fieramosca* of *Capua*; *Giovanni Capaccio*, *Giovanni Brancalone*, and *Ettore Giovenale*, *Romans*; *Marco Carellario*, of *Naples*; *Mariano*, of *Sarni*; *Romanello*, of *Furli*; *Lodovico Aminale*, of *Terni*; * *Francesco Salamone*, and *Guglielmo Albimonte*, *Sicilians*;

* He is called *Lodovico Benevoli* of *Tiano*, not of *Terni*, by *Giovio*, who also for *Miale* of *Treja* substitutes *Meiale* of *Tuscany*, and for *Tanfulla* of *Parma*, *Tito* of *Lodi*.

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hians; *Miale* of *Troja*; and *Riccio* and *A. D.*
Tanfulla, of *Parma*. These Gentlemen 1503.
 were all trained under the King of *Ara-*
gon, or under the *Colonnas*. It is incre-
 dible what a Damp this Adventure struck
 upon the Spirits of the *French* Army, and
 how it raised the Courage of the *Spa-*
niards, every one presaging to himself,
 from this Trial of Fortune between a
 Few, the final Issue of the whole War.

THE King of *France*, about this Time, met with Disturbances in *Lom-*
bardy from the *Swiss*, which were ex-
 cited, not by the whole Nation, but by the Three Cantons which had seized upon *Belinzone*. For these People, who would by all means induce the King to consent to a Cession of that Town to them in Property, made an Attack upon *Lucerna*, and *Murata*, a Wall of a great Length by the *Lago Maggiore*, near *Lucerna*, which obstructs the Descent from the Mountain into the Plain, except through one Gate, which is in the Wall. And tho' at first they were repulsed by the *French* appointed to guard these Posts,

A. D.
1303.

Posts, and that *Chauxmont* with Eight
 Hundred Lances and Three Thousand
 Foot had taken post at *Varese* and *Gaterra*,
 in hopes to make them abandon their
 Enterprize ; yet their Numbers increasing
 by the Accession of the *Grisons*, after
 several Assaults given in vain, a Detach-
 ment of their Forces climbing up a rug-
 ged Mountain that commands the *Mu-
rata*, constrained the Garrison to aban-
 don it. The *Swiss* afterwards took the
 Town of *Lucerna*, but not the Castle ;
 and now their Numbers increased every
 Day, for the other Nine Cantons, tho'
 at the Beginning they had offered the
 King some Troops, in consequence of the
 Confederacy that subsisted between them,
 yet afterwards they began to send Sue-
 cours to the Three Cantons, alledging
 that they could not excuse themselves
 from assisting their Companions, to which
 they were obliged by the antient League
 that subsisted between them, prior to
 other Engagements contracted with any
 Power whatsoever. And while, to the
 Number of Fifteen Thousand, they be-
 sieged the Castle, which the *French*, on
 account

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account of the Narrowness of the Passes, A. D.
and the Watchfulness of the Guards, 1503.
were unable to relieve, they employed the
rest of their Men in ravaging the adja-
cent Country. And being incensed a-
gainst the Governor of *Musocco*, a Town
belonging to *Gian Jacopo di Trivulzi*, for
refusing to lend them Cannon to batter
the Castle of *Lucerna*, they plundered
the Town of *Musocco*; but did not attack
the Castle because it was deemed impreg-
nable.

THE *French*, on the other hand, were
under no small Concern at this Rupture; French
and having assembled all the Troops they embroided
had in *Lombardy*, with the Auxiliaries of with the
Bologna, *Ferrara*, and *Mantoua*, demanded Swiss.
of the *Venetians* the Troops stipulated for
the Defence of the *Milaneze*; which were
speedily promised, but so slowly forwarded,
that they were of no Use. But *Chau-
mont* having well provided the Fortresses
in the Mountains, took Care to encamp
in the Plains, in hopes that the *Swiss*,
who, for want of Horse and Artillery,
must not descend into the open Country,
would

A. D. would be tir'd out for Want of Victuals,
 1503. and because they had no Money, and
 were without Hopes of performing any
 thing of Consequence. In this Condition
 the *Swiss* having persisted many Days,
 they grew short of Provisions; for the
French with their armed Boats sunk many
 of their Barks that brought them Provi-
 sions, so that they could be no longer
 supplied by way of the Lake; and they
 began also to disagree amongst themselves,
 because the Undertaking only concerned
 those Cantons that possessed *Belinzone*; to
 which we may add, that the *Swiss* Officers
 were corrupted by *French* Money; so they
 were at last content to retire, restoring all
 the Places they had taken in that Expedi-
 tion, except *Musocco*, which was not
 reckoned to belong to the King, and ob-
 tained of his Majesty a Promise that
Belinzone should not be molested within
 a certain Time. The *French* were so
 unwilling to have the *Swiss* for their Ene-
 mies, that they thought it no Shame, not
 only in the present Juncture, when they
 were at War with the King of *Spain*,
 and were under Apprehensions from the
 King

Peace be-
 tween
 them.

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King of the *Romans*, and could not trust *A. D.*
the *Venetians*, but at all times to purchase *1503.*
the Friendship of that Nation with yearly
Subsidies and Pensions, both public and
private, and to make Treaties with them
on dishonourable Conditions; for they
knew very well that they could put no
Trust in the Valour of their own Infantry,
and that it was a vast Disadvantage to
be at War with a Nation that had nothing
to lose *.

THE *French* King having in this man-
ner put an End to the War with the *Swiss*,
was also in Hopes of extricating himself
from the War in the Kingdom of *Naples*.
For after much treating and negotiat-
ing of Peace between the two Kings
without Effect, it happened that *Philip*,
Archduke of *Austria*, and Prince of *Flan-*
ders, intending to return from *Spain*
into his Dominions, resolved, tho' contrary
to the repeated Entreaties of his Father
and Mother-in-Law, to take his Journey
by

* The *Scythian* Ambassadors to *Alexander* the Great,
after they had proved themselves to be the poorest of all
Nations, said, " Our Poverty, O King, will be nimbler
than thy Army."

A. D.

1503.

by Land. They gave him, however, full Power and a full Commission to make a Peace with the King of *France*, which he had earnestly endeavoured to procure while he was in *Spain*. But he took care to have in his Retinue two of their Ambassadors, without whose Participation he would conclude nothing, nor enter upon any Negotiation. It is incredible with what Magnificence and Honours he was received and entertained wherever he passed through the Kingdom of *France*, by the King's Order, with a Design not only to render him favourable in the Treaty of Peace, but to gain for ever the good Will of that Prince, who was young, and in Expectation of vast Dominions; for he was the likeliest to succeed to the *Roman* Empire, and Heir to the Kingdom of *Spain*, with all its Dependences. The Persons of Note that were in his Retinue were also entertained in the same costly Manner, and had many valuable Presents made them. To these Demonstrations of Honour and Respect *Philip* was not wanting to make a suitable Return, with a Greatness of Mind becoming

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the Prince. For the King, besides giving him his Word of Honour for his safe Passage through *France*, having sent some of the principal Lords of the Kingdom into *Flanders*, to remain there as a Security till the Prince had passed through his Dominions, *Philip*, on his Entrance into that Kingdom, to shew his entire Confidence in the King's Faith, sent Orders for the *French* Hostages in *Flanders* to be set at Liberty. These extraordinary Demonstrations of Friendship were succeeded, as far as lay within their Power, by suitable Effects. For after a few Days spent in Discussion of Matters at *Blois*, the Parties concluded a Treaty on the following Conditions: That the Kingdom of *Naples* should be possessed as it was appointed, at the first Division, only the Provinces in Dispute, which had occasioned the Differences for which the Parties took up Arms, were to be deposited in *Philip's* Hands: That from henceforth *Charles*, Son to *Philip* and *Claude* the King's Daughter, whose Nuptials formerly negotiated are by this present Agreement ratified, shall be intitled King and Queen of

A. D.

1503.

Treaty of
Blois.

D. A. of *Naples*, and Duke and Dutchess of
 1503. *Puglia* and *Calabria*: That the Part of
 the Kingdom of *Naples* allotted to the
 King of *Spain* shall, for the future, be
 governed by the Archduke, and that be-
 longing to the *French* by whomsoever the
 King shall appoint as his Deputy, but
 both the one and the other to be held and
 administered in the Name of the two
 Minors, to whom, after Consummation
 of their Marriage, the King would give
 his Portion in Dowry with his Daughter.
 This Peace was solemnly published in
 the great Church at *Blois*, and confirmed
 upon Oath by the King, and by *Philip*
 as Proxy for his Father and Mother-in-
 Law.

HAD this Peace taken Effect, it must
 certainly have been of vast Importance;
 for it would not only have obliged two
 potent Kings to lay down their Arms,
 but must, in consequence of that Pacifi-
 cation, have produced a Peace between
 the King of the *Romans* and the King of
France, which would have put them upon
 forming new Schemes against the *Venetians*;
 and

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and the Pope, who was obnoxious to all, A. D. 1503.
 and stood in the worst Light to every
 body, was in fear of a Council, and of
 other Designs for depressing his Authori-
 ty. But the King and *Philip* having
 immediately sent Expresses to the King-
 dom of *Naples*, to notify the Peace which
 had been made, and to command the
 Generals that, each Party keeping Pos-
 session of what they held, they should
 desist from Hostilities till the King of
Spain's Ratification was arrived, the *French*
 Generals offered to obey their King's
 Orders; but the *Spanish* Commander,
 either because he was confident of Victory,
 or thought that the bare Authority of
Philip was no sufficient Warrant, an-
 swered, That he had not as yet received
 the like Orders from his Sovereigns, and
 therefore must continue the Operations of
 War. And he was the more encouraged
 in his Resolution because the King of
France, depending first on the Negotia-
 tion, and afterwards on the Conclusion of
 the Peace, and presupposing as certain
 what was dubious, had not only slackened
 his other Preparations, but suspended the

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A. D.

1503.

Embarkation of Three Thousand Foot, which he had ordered to be sent by Sea from *Genoa*, with Three Hundred Lances, which were designed for that Expedition under the Command of *M. Persi*. But on the other Side were arrived at *Barletta* Two Thousand *German* Foot, which were lifted with the Favour of the King of the *Romans*, and embarked at *Trieste*, whence they were safely transported over the Gulf of *Venice*, of which the *French* made heavy Complaints to the Senate.

THE Duke of *Nemours*, who could not promise himself a Suspension of Arms, and was so weakened by the Losses which he had received but a little before, that if an Opportunity invited, or Necessity constrained him to come to a Battle, he must be overpowered, sent Orders for all the *French* Troops that were dispersed about the Country, except those commanded by *Aubigni* in *Calabria*, and for all the Forces of the Lords of the Kingdom to join him. His Design, however, in some Measure miscarried; for the Duke of *Atri*, and *Lewis d' Ars*, one of the *French* general

general Officers, who had their Troops ^{1503.} dispersed in the Territory of *Otranto*, resolved to march in a Body to join the Viceroy, because they had Notice that *Pietro Navarra* had posted himself with a strong Body of *Spaniards* in a Place where he might greatly incommode them if they marched separate. But it happened, that *Lewis d'Ar* laid hold of an Opportunity which offered for conducting his Men into a Place of Safety by themselves, and parted, without regarding the Danger in which he left the Duke of *Atri*. The Duke, thus left alone, receiving Intelligence that *Navarra* had made a Motion towards *Matera*, in order to join *Gonsalvo*, put himself on the March with his Troops. But Fortune is not to be controlled by human Prudence; for the Inhabitants of *Rutiliano*, a Town in the Territory of *Bari*, who had just about this time revolted from the *French*, had sent for *Pietro Navarra*, who immediately turned out of his Road towards *Matera*, and marched for *Rutiliano*, till he drew up in Sight of the Duke of *Atri*. The Duke was much surpris'd at this Accident,

A. D.
1503.

dent, and stood in Suspense how to take his Measures. But considering that it was not in his Power to secure his Retreat without some Loss, and that, tho' he was inferior to the Enemy in Foot, he had a Superiority in Cavalry, and imagining that the *Spanish* Infantry were fatigued with their long March by Night, he joined Battle, which was fought with great Resolution on both Sides, till in the End his Troops were routed, his Uncle *Giovanni Antonio* slain, and himself taken Prisoner. And as it seldom happens that one Misfortune comes alone, Four *French* Gallies commanded by *Prujean* of *Provence*, Knight of *Rhodes*, lay in the Harbour of *Otranto*, with the Leave of the *Venetian* Deputy Governor, who promised that they should be secure from the *Spanish* Fleet, which cruised off *Villamarina* and the neighbouring Places. But in a few Days the *Spanish* Commodore brought his Fleet into the same Harbour, when *Prujean* finding himself inferior in Force, and fearing to be boarded, resolving that his Loss should not be the Enemy's Gain, landed

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landed the Crews, sunk his Galleys, and with his Men marched up the Country, A. D.
1503.

THE King of *France* had sent Orders to his Generals to stand upon the Defensive, and avoid coming to Action, assuring them that shortly they would receive either a Ratification of the Peace, or a powerful Succour. But it was a difficult Matter, when potent Armies lay so near one another, to restrain the natural Ardor of the *French*, who were impatient at seeing the War drawn out to such a Length. And indeed it was ordained that Matters should be brought to a quick Decision, and the finishing Stroke was ready to be given. The first Step towards this Event was in *Calabria*, where the *Spaniards* having united their Forces at *Seminara*, *Aubigni* assembled all his Troops, and those of the Lords that were of the *French* Party, and posted his Infantry in the Town of *Gioia*, Three Miles distant from *Seminara*, and his Cavalry at *Lofarno*, at the same Distance from *Gioia*. On the Bank of a River that runs through *Gioia* he had planted Four Pieces of Cannon, and

M 3

fortified

A. D.

1503.

fortified himself in Readiness to oppose the Enemy if they should attempt to pass. But the Design of the *Spaniards* was different from what he supposed ; for the Day they had resolved to attempt the Passage, the Vanguard under *Manuello de Benavida*, took the direct Road toward the River, on the Bank of which he entered into a Parly with *Aubigni*, who had drawn up all his Army on the opposite Bank. In the mean time the Rearguard of the *Spanish* Army, followed by the Main Body, took another Road, with an Intent to pass the River a Mile and a half above *Gijia*. The Instant that *Aubigni* had discovered their Stratagem, he flew in great Haste, without Artillery, in hopes of coming up to them before they had all passed the River. But he found them all got over, and tho' without Cannon, drawn up in firm and close Order of Battle, and in that Disposition moving on to come to an Engagement. The *French*, some say, were much inferior in Infantry, and, by reason of their Haste, went on in a disorderly Manner, so that they were soon broken, and even before the Vanguard

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guard of the *Spaniards* had passed the *A. D.*
River. *Ambricourt*, and some other ^{1503,}
French Officers were taken Prisoners, as
also the Duke of *Somma*, with many of
the *Neapolitan* Barons. *Aubigni* himself,
tho' he fled and escaped into the Castle
of *Angitola*, was obliged to surrender ^{*Aubigni*}
himself a Prisoner. He was vanquished ^{Over-}
and taken on the very same Ground, ^{thrown}
where, but a few Years before, he had ob- ^{and taken}
tained a glorious Victory over King *Fer-*
dinando and *Gonsalvo*. So inconstant is
Fortune in dispensing her Favours, and
of so short a Duration is a Course of
Prosperity.

THIS Defeat of *Aubigni*, who was
one of the best Generals that attended
King *Charles* into *Italy*, and of a generous
and noble Spirit, can be ascribed to nothing
else but his excessive Ardor, and hasty
Forwardness, in hopes of Victory. The
same rash Conduct was the Ruin of the
Viceroy in *Puglia*, who was, perhaps,
transported to a greater Degree of Teme-
rity on account of the News he had re-
ceived of the Overthrow in *Calabria*.

A. D.

1503.

For *Gonsalvo*, who was ignorant of the Victory obtained by the *Spaniards*, and could no longer maintain himself in *Barletta*, on account of the Famine and Pestilence that both raged in that Place, abandoned the same, leaving only a small Garrison, and directed his March towards *Cirignuola*, a Town Ten Miles distant, and, as it were, in a Triangle between *Canoja*, where the Viceroy was, and *Barletta* *. It had been much disputed in a Council of War held by the Viceroy, whether it were more advisable to seek, or avoid an Occasion of fighting; and several of the Officers were of Opinion, that the *Spaniards* being newly reinforced, and their own Forces diminished, and sunk in Spirits and Reputation by a Train of Misfortunes, first at *Rubos*, then at *Castellaneta*, after that in the Town of *Otranto*, and now, last of all, by the Overthrow received in *Calabria*, it was by no means advisable to hazard an Engagement, but to retire to *Melfi*, or some other

* *Cirignuola*, according to *Giovio*, was the ancient Castle of *Gerious*, and noted for the fruitless Attack made upon it by *Annibal*; tho' some are of a different Opinion.

other large and plentiful Town, and there ^{A. D.} wait in expectation from *France*, either ^{1503.} of new Reinforcements, or of a Ratification of the Peace. By this Delay, and spinning out the Time, they should moreover act in conformity to the King's Orders, which they had but lately received.

BUT this Advice met with strong Opposition from several, who represented the Danger of waiting till the conquering Army should join with *Gonsalvo*, or enter upon some important Enterprize, where they would find no Resistance. They recalled to Mind the sad Event of the Army under *Monpensier*, who chose rather to retire into Towns than hazard a Battle; and they had learnt by Experience how tedious and uncertain the Expectation of Succours from *France* was likely to prove. And if, while the Event was as yet dubious, neither *Gonsalvo* had agreed to a Suspension of Arms, nor the King of *Spain* accepted of the Peace, it would be the more difficult to bring them to a Compliance, now they were in full Hopes

A. D. ^{1503.} **Hopes of Victory.** Their own Army, they said, was not inferior in Strength nor Resolution to that of the Enemy; and that it was unreasonable to conclude from Misfortunes, which were owing to their own Neglect, that the same Event must happen on a fair Trial, where the Cause would be managed by the Sword in the open Field, with true Valour and Resolution, and not with Wiles and Stratagems. That it would be acting a safer, as well as more honourable Part, to try the Fortune of the Field, with an equal Chance, or Hopes at least, of Victory, than, in Distrust of their own Strength and Courage, to seek their Safety by Retreat; and so, by suffering themselves to waste and consume away by little and little, give sure and certain Victory to the Enemy, without Blood or Danger. As for the Orders of the King, who was at a Distance, they were to be understood as Admonitions rather than as Precepts, and were prudently directed, had they been observed by *Aubigny*. But the State of the War being changed by his Misfortune;

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fortune, it was necessary, in consequence, to take new Resolutions.

A. D.
1503.

THIS Opinion prevailed in Council; and having received Intelligence by their Spies, that the *Spaniards* had all or part of them left *Bartetta*, *Nemaurs* also took the Road to *Cirignuola*, which was very incommodious to both Armies, because those Countries are in great Want of Water, and the Summer was much forwarder than is usual in the Beginning of May; and it is reported, that on the Day of this March several Persons in both Armies perished on the Road with Thirst. The *French* knew not whether it was the whole, or only part of the *Spanish* Army that was in Motion, because *Fabritio Colonna*, with his light Horse, prevented all Intelligence from being carried to them; and the upright Lances of the Men at Arms, and the Stalks of Fennel, which, in that Country, are very high, hindered all Prospect. The *Spaniards* first arrived at *Cirignuola*, which was in the Possession of the *French*, and lodged themselves in the Vineyards, and by the Advice of Prof-

A. D. *Prospero Colonna*, went to work on widening a Ditch which was on their Front.

1503.

The *French* came up with them, while they were lodging themselves; and Night approaching, stood in Suspense whether they should fall upon them directly, or defer the Attack till the next Day. *Alegre* and the Prince of *Melfi* advised the latter Way; in hopes that the *Spaniards* would be necessitated, for Want of Victuals, to remove their Quarters, in which case, besides the near Approach of Night, they would avoid the Disadvantage of forcing them in their Camp, especially as they were ignorant of their Disposition in their Quarters. But *Nemours* in a passion rejected this most wholesome Advice, and fell on with great Fury upon the *Spaniards*, and was well seconded by the *Swiss*. By Chance; or designedly, the *Spanish* Magazine of Powder blew up; on which *Gonsalvo*, with a great Shout, embracing the Omen, cried out aloud, "The Victory is ours, God himself has declared it, by giving us a Sign which assures us that we shall have no more occasion for the Use of Artillery."

VARIOUS

VARIOUS are the Accounts of the Particulars of this Battle. The *French* relate that their Troops, after routing the *Spanish* Infantry at the first Attack, penetrated to the Enemy's Cannon, and after blowing up the Magazine of Powder, made themselves Masters of it; but that Night coming on, their Men at Arms, by Mistake, fell upon their own Infantry, which put them in such Disorder, that the *Spaniards* recovered themselves. But the *Spanish* Account informs us, that the *French* found it so difficult to pass the Ditch, that they were entangled one among another; and put to Flight by the Disorder of their own Troops, as much as by the Valour of their Enemies; that they were put in a great Consternation by the Death of *Nemours*, who, while he was fighting furiously among the foremost, and animating his Men to pass the Ditch, was shot dead. Others more particularly relate that *Nemours* finding the Passage of the Ditch impracticable, and designing to lead about his Troops to the Flank of the *Spanish* Camp, in order to make an Attempt

A. D. tempt on that Side, cried out, " Fall
 1503. back ", which Words, by those that did not understand the Meaning, were interpreted as a Sign for retreating; and his Death happening at the same time, while he was in the foremost Rank, the whole Army was put to Flight. Some have endeavoured to vindicate the Viceroy from the Reflections cast upon him, as if he had hazarded an Engagement contrary to the Advice of others of his Officers, by transferring the Blame upon *Alegre*, who charging the Viceroy, who had designed not to fight that Day, with Want of Courage, induced him to take a contrary Resolution. The Battle lasted but a very short Time, and tho' the *Spaniards* passed the Ditch in pursuit of the Enemy, yet, it being a dark Night, very few were taken or killed, especially of the Horse, among whom *M. de Chandieu* was left dead on the Spot. The Remainders of the *French*, with the Loss of their Cannon and Baggage, saved themselves by Flight, the Officers and Soldiers dispersing themselves into different Quarters. There goes a Story, that after the total Disposition

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tion of the Enemy, *Gonsalvo* missing A. D.
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Prospero Colonna, enquired after him with much Concern, fearing he might be killed in the Action; and that *Fabritio*, with an Intent to tax him with Cowardice, made Answer with a Smile, that there was no Reason to fear that *Prospero* had exposed his Person in any Place of Danger. This Victory was obtained the Eighth Day after the Defeat of *Aubigni*, and both Events happened on a *Friday*, a Day observed to be fortunate to the *Spaniards*.

THE *French*, after collecting their dispersed Troops, formed various Designs, proposing either to assemble together the Remains of their Army, and possess themselves of some advantageous Post for preventing the March of the Conqueror to *Naples*, or to bestow themselves in Garrison for the Defence of that Capital. But as it happens to Men in Adversity, every Day brings with it greater Fears, French Affairs irretrievable. and the Vanquished still plunge themselves into new Difficulties, so neither of these Projects was put into Execution. For no Place could be found commodious for quar-

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quarteting a Body of Forces, except *Naples*, and that City was judged impossible to be defended for want of Provisions. The *French*, indeed, had the Precaution to buy up a vast Quantity of Corn at *Rome*, but its Exportation was prevented by the Populace, either to preserve a Plenty at *Rome*, or, as many are persuaded, by private Instructions from the Pope. The Result was, that *Alegre*, with the Prince of *Saleruo*, and many others of the Barons, retired between *Gaeta* and *Trajetto*, whither afterwards their Name drew together the greater Part of the Remains of the Army.

G O N S A L V O, after so compleat a Victory, lost no Time for making the best Improvement of his good Fortune, but marched directly for *Naples*; and passing by *Melfi*, offered that Prince to leave him in possession of his State, if he would espouse the Cause of the *Spaniards*. But he rather chose Liberty to depart with his Wife and Children, and went and joined *Lewis d'Ar*, who was quartered in *Venosa*. *Gonsalvo*, after taking possession of *Melfi*, pursued his March to *Naples*, whence

whence the *French* that were in that City retired on his Approach into *Castelnovo*, and the *Neapolitans*, thus abandoned and left to themselves, on the Fourteenth Day of *May*, received *Gonsalvo*, as did likewise, at the same time, *Aversa* and *Capua* *.

* The *Neapolitans* sent Ambassadors as far as the Borders of their Territory to meet *Gonsalvo*, and beseech him to accept of their Submission, which he did, subscribing his Name to a Deed confirming all the Privileges bestowed on them by former Kings; after which he entered the City in great Pomp, under a Canopy, on the 14th Day of *May*, and received the Oath of Fidelity in the Name of King *Ferdinando*. *Giovio*.

The End of the Fifth Book.



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Francesco Guicciardini's H I S T O R Y O F The WARS in ITALY.

B O O K VI.

T H E C O N T E N T S.

Gonsalvo's Progress in the Reduction of the Kingdom of Naples. The King of France's Preparations for passing into Italy. Continuation of the Pisan War. Death of Pope Alexander. Election and Death of Pius III. Promotion of Julius II. Valentino attacked in Rome. Romagna revolts from him. He is sent Prisoner into Spain. Battle of the Garigliano. Venetians make Peace with the Turk. Death of King Federigo, and of the Queen of Spain. Peace between France and Spain.

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THE News of these Misfortunes arriving in France at a Time that the King's Thoughts were more taken up with Peace than War, deeply

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deeply affected him, for the Loss of so ^{A. D. 1503.} fine a Kingdom, for the Destruction of ^{Grief of the King of France} his Armies, for the Slaughter of so many ^{for his Losses.} of his Nobility, and such Numbers of experienced Officers. He was also apprehensive of the Dangers to which the rest of his Dominions in *Italy* became exposed, and thought it a mighty Discredit to his Honour to have been beat by the King of *Spain*, who, without doubt, was inferior in Power to himself. But what chiefly raised his Indignation, was the Thoughts of his having been deceived under a Colour of Peace. Under these Reflections he resolved to employ his whole Force for recovering his lost Reputation and Kingdom, and, at the same time, for revenging himself of so great an Injury. But, before he proceeded to Extremities, he complained grievously to the Archduke, who was not yet departed from *Blois*, requiring him to take such Measures as were suitable to the present Juncture, if he intended to preserve his Honour and Credit. As the Archduke was really innocent, and had acted with Sincerity, he writ to the King and Queen

A. D. of *Spain*, in the strongest Terms, to redress these Grievances, bitterly complaining how infamous they had made him appear in the Eyes of the World.
1503.

CERTAIN it is that, before the Victory, the King and Queen had delayed sending the Ratification of the Peace, sometimes pretending that they were not both together in the same Place, and that it was necessary they should sign at the same Time; and at other times excusing their Delay on the account of urgent Business. They were not indeed satisfied with the Peace, either because their Son-in-law had gone beyond his Instructions, or that, after his Departure from *Spain*, they had further Reason to expect their Arms would be successful. Besides, they might, perhaps, think it very strange that the Archduke should secure to himself their Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, without any Certainty, by reason of the tender Age of the betrothed Couple, that the Matrimony of his Son would take effect. They did not, however, absolutely refuse to ratify, but constantly gave Hopes that they

they would do it, in order to gain Time, A. D. 1503.
 and regulate Measures according to Events. But after they had received Advice of the Victories obtained by their Forces, tho' they resolved to disannul the Peace, yet they deferred acquainting the Archduke with their Intentions, that, by keeping the King of *France* in Suspense, they might retard his Preparations for succouring *Gaeta*, and the other Places that were still in his Possession. But being now so earnestly pressed by their Son-in-law, who protested he would not quit *Blois* till they declared themselves, they thought proper to send new Ambassadors, who, after conferring some Days, made no scruple to assert, that their Sovereigns had never intended to ratify a Peace, in which neither their Honour or Safety had been consulted; and, in the Heat of their Disputes with the Archduke, they flatly told him, that their Majesties were surprised that he should have so far exceeded their Intentions in the Conditions of Peace. For tho', in regard to his Person and Honour, his Commission had been drawn in a free and ample Manner, yet he ought to have

A. D. 1503. directed himself by his Instructions, which were limited. *Philip* answered, that his Instructions were as free and unlimited as his Commission, and that, on his taking Leave of their Majesties, they had both positively declared, that they desired and expected Peace thro' his Means, and had solemnly sworn on the holy Gospel, before the Image of Christ crucified, that they would observe and ratify whatever should be by him concluded, And yet he had made no Use of this ample and unlimited Power, without the Participation and Approbation of the two Persons whom they sent to attend him, The Ambassadors then, proceeding with the same sort of Artifices, proposed entering into a new Negotiation of Peace, in which they gave some Intimations of restoring the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Federigo*. But *Lewis* being sensible, that such Proposals were not only vain, but insidious, as tending to alienate the Affections of the Archduke, who was intent on obtaining the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Son, from his Majesty's Person, answered the Ambassadors, in a public Audience, that

that he would not vouchsafe to lend the ^{A. R.} ~~least~~ Ear to their new Proposals till they ^{1503.} had first ratified the Articles of the Peace, and had testified their Displeasure at the Disorders consequent upon their Refusal; adding, that it appeared to him not only strange, but odious and abominable, for those Monarchs, who gloried so much in having acquired the Title of Catholic, to pay so little Regard to their own Honour, to their Oath, and to Religion; and that they should have so little Respect for the Archduke, a Prince of such Greatness, high Birth, and Valour, and also their Son and Heir. With this Answer the Ambassadors were dismissed that very Day, and the King converted all his Time and Thoughts on making Provisions for a War, which he designed to prosecute with greater Fleets and Armies than had been ever prepared by any King of France.

It was resolved then to send a powerful Army, and a strong Fleet, to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and in the mean time, for preserving *Gaeta* and the Castles

A. D. of *Naples*, to send by Sea an immediate

1503.

Succour of Troops, with all Necessaries.

And to prevent any Recruits from *Spain*, the Source from which the War had been maintained, two Armies were ordered to be got in Readiness for invading that Kingdom by Land, one of which was to enter the County of *Roussillon*, which lies on the *Mediterranean*, the other to penetrate into the Country towards *Fonterabia*, and the circumjacent Places situated along the Ocean: A Fleet also was to be equipped at the same time, to infest the Coasts of *Catalonia* and *Valentia*.

Siege of
Castel-
nuovo.

WHILST these Preparations were carrying on with the utmost Diligence, *Gonsalvo*, wholly intent on getting Possession of the Castles of *Naples*, erected a Battery against *Castelnuovo*, at the Foot of Mount *San Martino*, on a raised Eminence, from which he battered the Citadel, which was situated over - against the said Mount, its Walls, were of an antient Structure, and seemed to have their Foundations above Ground. The *Spaniards* erected also another Battery on the
Tower

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Tower of *San Vincentio*, which *Gonsalvo* had taken a few Days before, from whence they battered the Walls of the Castle, and at the same time *Pietro Navarra* was working at a Mine for ruining the Wall of the Citadel.

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C A S T E L - N U O V O was built in another Form than it appears in at present. The Citadel being now removed, there begins a new Circuit of Walls where those of the Citadel stood, which extends through the Square of the Castle as far as the Sea. This Compass of Wall was begun by *Federigo*, and carried as high as the Bastion, and having a good Foundation, and being built of good Materials, cannot now be easily mined, because it is well countermined throughout, and also because the Waters of the Ditch are almost even with the Ground.

G O N S A L V O designed, after he had taken the Citadel, to lodge himself on the Counterscarp of the Wall of the Castle, and endeavour to blow it up with his new Mines. But the Rashness or Ill-Fortune of

A. D.

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of the *French* saved him that Trouble.

For the Mine that he had worked under the Citadel being brought to Perfection, and sprung by *Navarra*, a great Opening was made in the Wall, and the *Spaniards*, who were drawn up in Expectation of the Event, partly through the Breach, and partly by Scaling-Ladders, entered the Citadel at once in different Places. On the other Side, the *French* fallying out of the Castle, to prevent the Besiegers from making a Lodgment in the Citadel, were soon overpowered, and retired to the Ravellin. The *Spaniards* followed, and entering Pell Mell with them, with the same Resolution advanced to the Gate, which had not then the great Tower that is seen at present, that having been built since by *Gonsalvo*. This bold Attempt so terrified the already dispirited *French*, that in less than half an Hour they delivered up the Castle, (in which was repositied a great Quantity of rich Effects) and their Persons at Discretion; Count *Montorio* and several other Persons of Distinction were made Prisoners. This Acquisition happened very seasonably, for the next Day there appeared

fix

Castel Nuovo
was taken.

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fix large *Genoese* Ships, and a great Number of Transports, loaded with Provisions, Arms and Ammunition, with 2000 Soldiers on board. On their Approach the *Spanish* Fleet in the Port of *Naples* retired to the Isle of *Ischia*, where it was followed by the *French* Fleet as soon as they were informed of the Loss of *Castel-nuovo*. But the *Spaniards*, that they might not be forced to engage, having sunk some Barks at the Entrance of the Harbour, to prevent the Approach of the Enemy's great Ships, after a little cannonading on both Sides, the *French* Fleet retired to *Gasta*, and the *Spaniards* returned into the Mole of *Naples* *.

As soon as *Gonsalvo* had taken *Castel-nuovo*, he applied himself to subdue the rest of the Kingdom; and without waiting for the Army from *Calabria*, which, to remove all Impediments in their Progress, was employed in reducing the Vale of *Ariano*, he sent *Prospera Colonna* into the

* *Giovio* ascribes the Glory of saving the *Spanish* Fleet to a Lady, *Costanza Davala* by Name, who from an Eminence fired a Battery on the *French* Fleet.

A. D. 1503. the *Abruzzi*, and leaving *Navarra* to be-
 siege *Castel dell Uovo*, marched in
 Person with the rest of the Forces to *Ga-*
eta, the Taking of which would give the
 finishing Stroke to the War, as both the
 Hopes, and Despair of the *French* were
 centered in the Preservation or Loss of
 that maritime City, which was of a consi-
 derable Strength, and had a very capaci-
 ous Harbour, which lay very commodious
 for the Reception of Naval Armaments
 from *Provence* and *Genoa*. The *French*
 however were not all confined in *Gaeta*,
 add the adjacent Towns. In *Abruzzi*
 they possessed *Aquila*, the Castle of *Evan-*
dro, and several other Places. *Lewis d'*
Ars had got together a good Body of Horse
 and Foot, and fortified himself in *Venosa*,
 together with the Prince of *Melfi*, and
 ravaged the whole Country about him.
Rossano also and *Matalona*, and many
 other strong Places that belonged to the
 Barons of the *Anjouin* Party, constantly
 persevered in their Devotion to the King
 of *France*.

PIETRO NAVARRA, in the mean
 Time,

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Time, had got together a good Number of A. D. 1503. covered Boats, under Shelter of which he approached the Walls of *Castel dell' Uovo* Castel dell' Uovo be- sieged, and taken with greater Safety, and mined them on the Side that is opposite to *Pizzisfalcone*, before the Garrison knew what he was about. When the Mine was sprung it blew up Part of the Rock, with all the Men that were on it, which so terrified the Garrison, that they immediately surrendered that Fortrefs. * *Navarra*, gained great Credit at this Siege, and struck a Terror into all; for as it is natural for Men, to be more terrify'd at new Methods of attacking, when no Ways have been yet invented for resisting the Attack, they thought it impossible for any Walls or even Rocks to resist the Force of such Mines. And certainly it must appear with a very dreadful Face, that by the Force of Gunpowder which lodged in a hollow Place, is properly called a Mine, the most solid and ponderous Walls should be shattered and thrown down.

MINES

* *Giovio* writes that the Governor and his Council were blown up whilst they were consulting in the Chapel.

A. D. **MINES** were first used in *Italy* by
1503. the *Genoese* at the Siege of *Sarzanello*,
 then in Possession of the *Florentines*, in
 1487. It is said that *Navarra*, at that
 Time only a common Soldier, assisted at
 the Siege, where a Mine was sprung in
 like Manner, and made some Openings in
 the Wall, but not having been carried un-
 der the Foundation as far as was necessary
 the Castle held out, and the like Experi-
 ment had not been tried till on these late
 Occasions.

The first
 Use of
 Mines in
 Italy.

ON *Gonsalvo's* Approach to *Gaeta*, *Al-
 legre*, who had distributed 400 Lances and
 9000 Foot, the Reliques of the late Bat-
 tle, into *Gaeta*, *Fondi*, *Itri*, *Trajetto*,
 and Fort *Guglielma*, withdrew them all
 into *Gaeta*, whither were retired also the
 Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignano*, the Duke
 of *Trajetto*, and many other Barons of the
 Kingdom, who had before joined the
French General.

Siege of
Gaeta.

GONSALVO, having first made him-
 self Master of all these Towns, together
 with the Castle of *San Germano*, en-
 camped

camped with his Army in the Suburbs of *Gaeta*, and erected his Batteries, which A. D.
1503. play'd very furiously on the Walls, towards the Port, and on the Side of the Mount, vulgarly called Mount *Orlando*, which is contiguous to, and overlooks the Town. This Mount, which was afterwards by *Gonsalvo* furrbunded with a Wall, was at present fortified by the *French* with Ramparts and Bastions of Earth. The General having attempted twice in vain to carry the Mount by Storm, desisted from a general Assault on the Day he had determined, being apprehensive that the Conquest of the Place would prove very difficult, on account of the Number and Resolution of the Defendants. He considered also that if he succeeded in taking the Mount, the Troops might be the more endanger'd, for they would be then exposed to the Fire of the Cannon from the Monastery, and other elevated Places upon the Mount. Therefore quitting that Side, he continued battering the Walls of the Town, which was at the same time annoyed from the Sea; for Don *Ramondo di Cardona* with 18 *Spanish* Gallies lay before the

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the Port. But a few Days after there appeared a Fleet of six large *Genoese* Vessels, with six other Ships, and seven Gallies full of Provisions and Soldiers, on which also was on board the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who was appointed Viceroy after the Death of the Duke of *Nemours*. The King of *France*, out of his great Care and Sollicitude for preserving *Gaeta*, had in a few Days transported, partly on these Vessels, and partly on some others, that soon after entered the Port, 1000 *Corficans* and 3000 *Gascons*. On the Arrival of this Succour, the *Spanish* Fleet was obliged to retire to *Naples*, and *Gonsalvo*, after such Supplies, despairing of Success, drew off his Army to the Mole of *Gaeta* and to *Castellone* *, from whence he kept *Gaeta* blockaded at large, having lost a great many Men, partly by Sallies, and partly in his Retreat, and amongst the rest Don *Ugo di Cardona*, who was killed by a Cannon Ball.

The Siege
of *Gaeta*
raised.

BUT the *Spaniards* had better Success
in

* *Castellone* was *Cicero's* delicious Seat, then called *Formiano*.

in other Parts of the Kingdom. For *Prospero Colonna* had taken the Castles of *Evandro* and *Aquila*, and subdued all the Country of the *Abruzzi*. The best Part of *Calabria* had also submitted by Virtue of an Agreement newly made with Count *Capaccio*, so that nothing remained but *Rossano* and *Santa Severina*, in which the Prince of *Rossano* was besieged.

ALL this while the other Parts of *Italy* were not entirely free from Apprehensions and Troubles. For the *Florentines* before the Rout of the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, jealous of the Forces and Artifices of the Pope and *Valentino*, besides augmenting their Troops, had taken into their Pay, for General of their Armies, tho' without that Title, the Bailiff of *Caen*, an Officer of Note, with Fifty *French* Lances that served under him. By this Measure they expected to frighten their Neighbours, imagining they would be kept in some Awe, and not venture to assist the *Pisans*, when they saw they were countenanced by the King of *France*, who permitted

VOL. III. O his

4. D. his Officers and Soldiers to serve in their
 1503. Army. They also flattered themselves
 that this Step would contribute to their
 obtaining with less Difficulty the Royal
 Aid, if required.

Vico Pisa-
no taken
by the Flo-
rentines.

ON the General's Arrival, after must-
 ering their Army, they went a second
 Time and destroyed and laid waste the
 Corn-Fields in the *Pisan*, but not through-
 out the whole Country, because the En-
 trance into the *Valdiserchio* was too haz-
 ardous to attempt, as being situated be-
 tween the Mountains and the Waters, and
 half way between *Lucca* and *Pisa*. After
 this Desolation they besieged *Vico Pisano*,
 and took it with great Ease. For the Bailiff
 threatening a Hundred French Men, who
 were part of the Garrison, that they
 should be treated as Enemies to their
 King, if they made any Resistance, and
 promising them at the same Time a
 Month's Pay if they retired, they quitted
 the Place, which put the rest under a
 necessity of surrendering at Discretion.
 They immediately afterwards invested the
Verrucola, where there was but a slender

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der Garrison, in order to prevent any new Reinforcement; and having afterwards with great Difficulty brought the Artillery over rugged Mountains, it no sooner began to play, than the few Defenders capitulated, on Condition of Safety for their Persons and Effects * .

A. D.
1503.

Verrucola
taken.

THE *Verrucola*, which is a small Fortress, erected on a high Mountain, was of great Importance in the long War carried on in the Territory of *Pisa* on Account of its Situation. For being but five Miles distant from *Pisa*, it lies not only convenient for infesting the Country even to the very Gates of the Capital, but is also of great Service, because it presents a View of all the Troops, whether Horse or Foot, that issue out of the Town; which had induced *Pagolo Vitelli* and others to attempt it several Times before, but without Success. The Hopes which the *Pisans* entertained that *Vico Pisano*

O 2

would

* The *Verrucola* surrendered to the *Florentines*, June 18, 1503, at Discretion, after a Siege of three Days; the Besiegers immediately afterwards set about fortifying it, so as to render it impregnable. *Buenac.*

A. D.

1503.

would sustain a long Siege, was the Occasion why the *Verrucola*, which could not have been besieged whilst *Vico* held out, was not better provided. The *Pisans* were greatly terrified at the Loss of the *Verrucola*, yet tho' they had received such great Losses, and had very few Foreign Soldiers, and laboured under Want of Money and a Scarcity of Provisions, yet they could not think of submitting to the *Florentines*, particularly because, as they were conscious of the Damages and Injuries they had done them, they despaired of being forgiven. Those at the Helm thought it necessary to encourage with all possible Care and Artifice this Notion amongst the People: For the Peasants, whose Assistance was necessary for their Defence, thought it a very hard Case to be deprived of their Harvest. Wherefore for their Comfort, and to amuse those amongst the People who knew better how to get their Living in Times of Peace than of War, false Letters were produced, and several Stratagems used, such as mixing false Reports with true, and interpreting all new Events in *Italy* to their Advantage, forever

over-spreading Rumours, that sometimes one Prince, and sometimes another, was on the Point of marching to their Assistance. Nor were they indeed in their Distress quite destitute of the Aid and Succour of the *Genoese* and *Lucchese*, the ancient Enemies of the *Florentines*, and of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who was not over grateful for the Favours he had received from the *Florentines* *. But, what was of much greater Importance, they secretly received some Help from *Valentino*, who fed them with hopes of much greater. *Valentino* aspires at the Sovereignty of *Pisa*. He had long since coveted the Sovereignty of this City, but had hitherto smothered his Design for fear of provoking the King of *France*; but now, emboldened by the late Misfortunes of the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with Consent of his Father, he treated with the *Pisan* Ambassadors,

O 3

who

* The *Genoese*, *Lucchese*, and *Senese*, agreed together to assist the *Pisans*, being apprehensive that if the *Florentines* should make themselves Masters of *Pisa*, they should lose all Hopes of recovering the Places detained from them; as particularly the *Genoese* claimed *Sarzana* and *Sarzanello*, the *Senese* *Montepulciano*, and the *Lucchese* *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*. The Distrusts and Jealousies on these Accounts occasioned infinite Perplexities in the Affairs of *Pisa*. *Buonac.*

A. D. 1503. who had been sent to *Rome* for that Purpose, about accepting the Dominion of their Town, now extended his ambitious Views to the Acquisition of all *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* and the *Senese* greatly suspected that he entertained such Designs, yet, the publick Good giving way to private Interest, the Treaty of Union, proposed by the King of *France*, between the *Florentines*, *Bolognese*, and *Senese*, was at a Stand, because the *Florentines* refused to agree without the Restitution of *Montepulciano*, as had been at first proposed and promised. And *Pandolfo Petrucci* being averse to this Restitution, tho' he pretended the contrary, gave out that such a Step would incense the *Senese* against him to such a Degree, that he should be obliged again to leave that City. It was his Advice therefore, as more beneficial to the common Cause, to defer this Restitution till a more proper Juncture, as the restoring it now would facilitate *Valentino's* Design of seizing on *Siena*. And thus, by delaying without refusing, he endeavoured to induce the *Florentines* to accept of Hopes instead of Effects. But these
Excuses,

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Excuses, tho' not admitted at *Florence*, were by Means of *Francesco di Narni*, who by the King's Order had continued at *Siena*, received and credited in the Court of *France*. But the Pope and *Valentino* were resolved not to venture on these Enterprizes, any further than as they should be directed and encouraged by the Progress of the Army which was getting ready in *France*, according to which they had determined to adhere to one King more than another. Many were their Consultations, and various their Thoughts on the present Occasion, but they avoided as much as possible to declare their Mind, for, unless compelled by Force, they were not inclined to favour *France* *. For the Experience they had had of that King in the Affairs of *Bologna* and *Tuscany*, deprived them of all Hopes of making farther Acquisitions with his Approbation; and on that Account, even before the

A. D.

1502

O 4

Victory

* The Pope and his Son had conceived such an Aversion to the King of *France*, that when the French Ambassador at *Rome* had provided great Quantities of Provision to be sent to the Garrisons in *Naples*, the Pope dealt underhand with the Conservators of *Rome*, to prohibit the Exportation. *Barneç.*

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Victory of the *Spaniards*, they had begun to grow every Day colder in their Affections towards him; and after that Victory, their Presumption increasing, they had no longer that Regard as usual to his Will and Authority. And tho' they had, immediately after the Defeat of the *French*, declared their Intention of espousing the Party of the King of *France*, and made a Show of lifting Soldiers to be sent into the Kingdom of *Naples*, yet their Inclinations were bent upon new Conquests, and they knew not how to turn away their Eyes, nor divert their Thoughts from *Tuscany*; so that when they were solicited by the King to declare themselves openly in his Favour, the Pope answered in such ambiguous Terms, as rendered both him and his Son every Day more and more suspected. Their Hypocrisy and Diffimulation were indeed so notorious in the Court of *Rome*, as to make it a common Proverb, That the Pope never did as he said, and *Valentino* never said as he did.

THE

THE Quarrel of the Pope and his Son with *Giangiordano* was not as yet composed, for tho' *Valentino*, for fear of the King's Displeasure, in Obedience to his Orders, had desisted from giving him further Trouble, yet the Pope continued very uneasy, and never ceased soliciting the King for Leave, either to dispossess *Giangiordano* of his whole Estate by Force of Arms, or oblige him to accept of an Equivalent; protesting, at the same time, that this Request did not proceed from Ambition, but from very just Reasons which he had to be afraid of his Vicinity. For as there had been discovered amongst the Papers of Cardinal *Orsino* a blank Sheet, underwritten by *Giangiordano's* own Hand, it was reasonable to conclude, that the Affair of the Treaty of *Magione* was carried on with his Knowledge and Consent, as much as of any of the *Orsini*. The King consulting his Interest more than his Honour, had proceeded in *Giangiordano's* Cause according to the Diversity of Times, sometimes seeming as favourable to him as ever, at others

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others inclined to satisfy, in some measure, the Pope. For when *Giangiordano* refused to deposit *Bracciano* into the Hands of the *French* Ambassador residing in *Rome*, the King insisted on being Umpire of the Controversy, and that *Giangiordano* should take a Journey into *France* within Two Months, and that no Innovation should be made till he had given his Decision. *Giangiordano's* Situation obliged him to comply, in hopes that his Father's Merits and his own would wholly free him from the Pope's Vexations. The Pope also agreed, but rather out of Fear than any other Motive; for the King made this Request at the Time that the Archduke had contracted the Peace in the Name of the King of *Spain*. But the State of Affairs being now altered by the Victory of the *Spaniards*, and *Alexander* knowing how necessary he should be to the King, demanded *Giangiordano's* whole Estate for what Equivalent his Majesty thought fit. *Lewis*, for the same Reason, had prevailed on *Giangiordano* to agree, tho' unwillingly, and to promise to send him his Son as an

Hostage

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Hostage for the Performance of what he ^{D. 4.} should determine; but the King did not ^{1503.} intend to give up his Estate to the Pope, unless his Holiness did at the same time openly declare for him, and join his Forces in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the People of *Pitigliano*, where the Son of *Giangiordano* resided, refusing to deliver him to *M. de Trans*, the King's Ambassador, who was arrived at *Porto Ercole* to receive him, *Giangiordano*, being returned, went himself to *Porto Ercole*, to make an Offer of his own proper Person to the Ambassador, who unadvisedly accepted of the Proposal; and sent him on board a Ship; but the King, as soon as he had notice of it, ordered him to be immediately set at Liberty.

Lewis, in the mean time, was hasten-^{King of} ing his Preparations to act on both Sides ^{France} the Mountains, and had sent *Monf. d'Al-Troops* ^{sends} *breet* and *Marshal Gies*, with Four Hun-^{against} dred Lances, and Five Thousand Foot, ^{Spain.} part *Swiss* and part *Gascons*, into *Gatenne*, to open the Campaign towards *Fonterabia*; and *Marshal Ruis of Britany*, with Eight Hundred

A. D. 1503. Hundred Lances and Eight Thousand Foot, part *Swiss* and part *French*, into *Languedoc*, in order to make an Invasion into the County of *Roussillon*. At the same time a Fleet was sailing with Orders to infest the Coasts of *Catalonia*, and the Kingdom of *Valentia*. *Mont, de la Tremouilla*, who was universally allowed to be the best Officer in the Kingdom of *France*, was sent into *Italy*, and the Bailiff of *Dijon* into *Switzerland*, to get in Readiness Eight Thousand *Swiss*, and the Gens d'Armes and the Foot were eager to begin their March. The Army, however, was not so powerful as was first intended, not for Want of Strength, or with a View to save Expences, but, as Speed was the principal Requisite, that it might arrive the sooner in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and partly because *Alegre*, in making his Report of the State of that Kingdom, had represented the Remains of the Army to be much stronger than in Reality they were, and the Towns still held by the *French* and the Barons to be much steadier than afterwards appeared; and because he had demanded Auxiliaries from
all

all the Powers in *Italy* that espoused the *French* Cause. A. D.
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IN compliance with this Demand, the *Florentines* sent the Bailliff of *Caen* with the Fifty Lances in their Pay, and One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms. The Duke of *Ferrara*, the *Bolognese*, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was ordered by the King to attend in Person, and the *Senese*, sent each of them One Hundred Men at Arms. All these, together with Eight Hundred Lances, and Five Thousand *Gascons*, conducted into *Italy* by *Tremouille*, with Eight Thousand *Swiss* which were expected, and those in *Gaeta*, made up an Army of Eighteen Hundred Lances between *French* and *Italians*, and above Eighteen Thousand Foot *. Besides these Preparations by Land, the King had a very powerful Fleet at Sea; so that computing the Armaments, both by Sea and Land, on this Side and beyond the Mountains, it was generally allowed,

* *Buznac*. says Thirteen Hundred Lances, under the Command of three Generals, the Marquis de la *Tremouille*, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and M. de *Sandricourt*.

A. D. 1503. allowed, that no King of *France* had ever before made more powerful Preparations.

BUT it was not thought safe for the royal Army to march beyond *Rome*, if the King were not first secure of the Pope and *Valentino*, whom he had very just Cause to suspect for many Reasons, and manifest Tokens. For long before this time, by intercepted Letters from *Valentino* to *Gonsalvo*, it was discovered, how they had concerted between them, that *Gonsalvo*, after the Conquest of *Gaeta*, which would put the Affairs of *Naples* in a State of Security, should march with his Army forwards; that *Valentino* should seize upon *Pisa*, and that afterwards he and *Gonsalvo* should with joint Forces invade *Tuscany*. Wherefore the King, after his Army was arrived in *Lombardy*, insisted with great Warmth on their declaring their ultimate Resolution. They gave Ear to, and treated with both Parties, imagining they had a fair Opportunity of making an advantageous Traffick of the Misfortunes of others. They were, indeed,

deed, inclined to join the *Spaniards*, but A. D. 1503.
 were deterred by their Fears that the *French Army* would fall upon their Do-
 minions, in which case, instead of Re-
 wards and Empire, as they expected,
 they would meet with nothing but Losses
 and Vexations. In this Perplexity, they
 gave Leave for both Sides to make public
 Levies in *Rome*, and deferred, as long as
 they were able, to declare themselves*.
 But at last, being closely pressed by the
 King, they agreed that *Valentino* should
 join the royal Army with Five Hundred
 Men at Arms, and Two Thousand Foot,
 provided the King gave Consent, that
 they should not only take Possession of
Giangiordano's Estate, but also make a
 Conquest of *Siena*. But when Matters
 were almost brought to a Conclusion,
 they flew off from the Point in Hand,
 and started new Difficulties, with a View

to:

* *Buonacassi* writes, that the *Spaniards* only were
 permitted to enlist Men in *Rome*, and that they killed
 several *French* for offering to make Levies there; that
 the Pope took no notice of these Disorders, and that
 the *French Ambassador*, and Cardinal *Sanseverino*, by his
 Direction, were attacked, and narrowly escaped being
 cut in Pieces, in their Return one Evening from Supper
 at a Vineyard.

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to regulate their Measures, according to Custom, by Events of Things, avoiding by all means to declare themselves. Wherefore they set on Foot a new Treaty, in which it was proposed, that the Pope, as common Father, should remain neuter; that the *French* Army should have Leave to pass through the ecclesiastic State; and the Pope promised that, during the *Neapolitan* War, he would not attack the *Florentines*, *Senese*, nor *Bolognese*. The King was so desirous of marching his Army, without any Delay, into the Kingdom of *Naples*, that he would have accepted of these Conditions, tho' he knew they were neither honourable or safe for him or his *Italian* Allies; for he had no Security that, if any Misfortune should happen to his Forces in that Kingdom, the Pope and *Valentino* would not turn their Arms against him. Neither could he be sure that, when his Army had passed the *Roman* Territory, they would stand to their Engagement, and not assault *Tuscany*, which, on account of the Disunion that reigned amongst those People, and the Auxiliaries sent to the

the

the royal Army, was but weak, and in a manner defenceless. And there were good Grounds to believe, that they intended to go upon this, or some other Enterprize, since they had proposed to themselves vast Advantages from so favourable a Juncture *.

BUT, alas! how vain and fallacious are the Projects of Men! The Pope, in the Height of his aspiring Hopes, is unexpectedly carried home for dead to the pontifical Palace, from a Vineyard near the Vatican, where he had been at Supper, to regale himself in the time of the Summer Heats; and immediately after him his Son is brought along in the same expiring Condition. The Day following, which was the 18th of *August*, the Pope's Corps, according to pontifical Custom, is carried into St. *Peter's Church*, all swelled, black, and monstrously frightful; sure Marks of Poison. But *Valentino*,
VOL. III. P afflicted

* *Valentino* had given Orders to his Troops that were quartered on the upper Borders of the *Florentine Dominions*, to assemble at *Pérugia*, in order, as soon as the French Army was passed forward, to make a sudden Attack upon *Florence*. *Buenac.*

A. D. assisted by the Strength and Vigour of
 1503. Youth, and by the immediate Administration of potent Antidotes, appropriated to the Poison, saved his Life, tho' he continued for a long time in a very bad State of Health.

It was universally believed, that Poison was the Cause of this Accident, which, according to common Report, happened in the following manner. *Valentino*, who was to be one of the Guest, had resolved on poisoning *Adriano*, the Cardinal of Corneto, in whose Vineyard the Supper was prepared. It is no matter of Secret, that it was a usual Custom, both of Father and Son, to dispatch by Poison, not only such as they had resolved to sacrifice to their Revenge and Jealousy, but any Persons of great Substance, whether Cardinals or other Courtiers, whose Riches tempted their wicked Avarice. Innocence was no Protection, as appeared in the Case of the wealthy Cardinal of *St. Agnello*, nor did they better escape who were their most intimate Friends, and nearest Acquaintance, and some of them, as the

Cardinal

Cardinals of *Capua* and *Modena*, most faithful and serviceable Ministers.

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THE Story continues thus related: *Valentino* had sent away before Supper some Flasks of Wine infected with Poison, which were intrusted to a Waiter, who was ignorant of the Matter, with strict Orders not to open them for any one. The Pope happened to arrive before the Time of Supper, and being almost spent with Thirst, the Season being extremely hot, asked for something to drink. The Provisions for the Supper not being yet brought from the Palace, the Waiter, who imagined that the Wine in his Custody was reserved as some of the choicest of Wines, presented some of it to his Holiness. While the Pope was drinking, *Valentino* arrived, and joining Company, took a Draught of the same Wine.

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THE

Giovio, in the Second Book of his History, says that the Poison which *Alexander* used for dispatching others, and by which he was at last killed himself, was a very white Powder, not ungrateful to the Taste, which by degrees mixing with the Blood, was of a slow, but mortal Operation. Some have written, that this Tragedy happened at Supper, and that the Butler mistook the Flask.

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His Cha-
racter.

THE whole City of *Rome* ran together with incredible Alacrity, and crowded about the Corpse in *St. Peter's Church*, and were not able to satisfy their Eyes at the Sight of a dead Serpent, who with his immoderate Ambition, and detestable Treachery; with manifold Instances of horrid Cruelty, and monstrous Lust; and exposing to sale all Things without Distinction, both sacred and profane *, had intoxicated the whole World. And yet this Man ascended to his Greatness in a continued Course of Prosperity, very rarely seen, which attended him from his earliest Youth till his last Scene of Life. He always aimed at the highest Matters, and his Attainments exceeded his Wishes. His Example may be of Use to humble the Pride of those who presume, by the weak Lights of human Understanding, to search into the Depths of the Divine Judgments, and assert that whatever befalls Mankind in this Life, whether prosperous

* Hence the following Pasquinade :

Vindit Alexander claves, Altaria, Christum :

Emerat ille prius, vixitque jure potest.

perous or adverse, proceeds from their Merits or Demerits; as if it were not manifest from daily Experience, that many good Men are unjustly depressed under a Load of Afflictions, and the Wicked unworthily exalted to Riches and Honours; and as if to interpret Events in a contrary Sense, were derogatory to the Justice and Power of God, which are not restrained within the narrow Limits of this present Life, but will at another Time, and in another State, distinguish the Just from the Unjust by an ample Distribution of Rewards and Punishments.

VALENTINO, in the mean time, while he lay dangerously ill in the Palace, summoned all his People about him. He had been ever contriving, and had settled within himself, how, after his Father's Death, partly by the Terror of his Arms, and partly by the Favour of the *Spanish* Cardinals, who were Eleven in Number, he might have the Election of a Pope at his own Disposal. But at present he laboured under much greater Difficulties

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than

A. D.
1503.*Valentino*
in a de-
clining
State of
Health
and For-
tune.

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than he at first imagined, for prosecuting this or any other Design, on account of his dangerous Disorder. He complained, with the greatest Indignation, of his hard Fate, that whereas he had never been without considering all the Accidents that might happen by the Death of his Father, and had provided himself with suitable Remedies, it had never entered into his Thoughts, that it might possibly happen, that he himself should be laid up with a dangerous Disease at that critical Juncture. He found it necessary, therefore, to accommodate his Measures, not to the Designs which he had at first framed, but to the present Necessity. And thinking it too dangerous to have, at the same time, both the *Colonnas* and *Orsini* for his Enemies, and fearing that the two Families would confederate together against him, he thought it better to trust in that Family whom he had injured only in their Estates, than the other, whom he had injured by depriving them both of Life and Dominion. For this Reason he speedily effected a Reconciliation with the *Colonnas*, and with the Family

Family of *de Valle*, who were Partisans ^{A. D. 1503.} of the same Faction, and invited them to return to their own Estates, restoring to them all the Fortresses, which *Alexander* had caused to be fortified and enlarged at a vast Expence,

BUT this Step was not sufficient for his Security, nor to quiet the City of *Rome*, ^{Disorders in Rome,} where nothing reigned but Jealousies and Tumults. For *Prospero Colonna* had entered the Town, and all the Party of the *Colonnas* had taken up Arms. And *Fabio Orsino*, at the Head of a numerous Rabble of the Faction of the *Orsini*, was advanced to *Monte Giordano*, and had burnt down some Shops and Houses of the *Spanish* Merchants and Courtiers, the Minds of the People almost to a Man being irritated against that Nation, and the Name of a *Spaniard* become odious for their insolent Behaviour during the Time of the late Pontificate. *Fabio*, who thirsted after *Valentino's* Blood, after this assembled a Number of foreign Soldiers, and solicited *Bartolomeo Alviano*, who was then in the *Venetian* Service, to come, and, in con-

P 4 junction

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junction with others of his Family, take Vengeance on those from whom they had received such great Injuries *. The Suburb and Meadows were full of *Valentino's* Soldiers, and the Cardinals thinking it not safe to assemble in the pontifical Palace, met together in the Convent of the Church of the *Minerva* †, in which Place, contrary to antient Custom, they began, tho' later than usual, to celebrate *Alexander's* funeral Solemnities.

THEY were under Apprehensions at *Rome* of the coming of *Gonsalvo*, and the more because *Prospero Colonna* had left some *Spanish* Soldiers at *Marino*, and because, by the Reconciliation of *Valentino* with the *Colonnas*, it was believed that he had agreed to espouse the *Spanish* Interest. But they stood in much greater Fear

* *Alviano* came to *Rome* with a great Force, and committed some Disorders, and attempted to enter the Palace of *St. Peter*, where *Valentino* lay. But the Magistrates of *Rome* obtained a Permission for the Duke to depart for *Naples*; by which means the City was quieted. *Giovio*. But *Bembo* writes, that the *Venetians* sent to offer the Command of their Army to *Gonsalvo*, the Fear of which drove away *Borgia* from *Rome*.

† The Convent of the *Dominicans*.

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Fear of the Coming of the *French* Army; which had hitherto proceeded but slowly, because the public Resolutions of the *Swiss*, who were intimidated by the ill Success of their Countrymen in the Kingdom of *Naples*, had been long suspended before they would grant Leave to the King's Officers to levy a Body of their Infantry; and for the same Reason almost all the Officers and Soldiers designed for that Expedition were listd very slowly, and were afterwards but dull and tardy in their March. But on the Death of the Pope, the *French* Army under the Command of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, with the Title of the King's Lieutenant, in conjunction, as to effect, tho' not in Name, with the Bailiff of *Caen*, and *Sandricourt*, (Monf. *de la Tremouille* lying sick at *Parma*) without waiting for the *Swiss*, marched into the Territory of *Siena*, with an Intention to proceed to *Rome*, in Obedience to the King's Orders; who also commanded his Fleet from *Gaeta* to sail to *Ostia*, to prevent, as it was said, *Gonsalvo*, if he should attempt to march with his Army to *Rome*, in order

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Progress
of the
French
Army in
Italy.

to

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to constrain the Cardinals to elect a new Pope of his own Nomination. The Army, however, halted some Days between *Buonconventa* and *Viterbo*, * because the Merchants at *Rome* making a Scruple of accepting Bills of Exchange from *France*, on account of the Disturbances in that City, the *Swiss*, who were advanced into the Territory of *Siena*, refused to proceed a Step further before they were paid.

Disorders
consequent
on the Death
of the
Pope and
Valentino's
Illness.

ALL this while there were continual Tumults in the Territory of *Rome*, and in the other Parts of the Ecclesiastical State, and in *Valentino's* Dominions; for the *Orsini*, and all the *Roman* Barons, were returned into their Possessions; the *Vitelli* returned into *Citta di Castello*, and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, grounding his Hopes on a Plot, made an Attack on *Perugia*; and tho' he was repulsed and put to flight by his Enemies, he returned with a great Force, the *Florentines* openly assisting him, and, after a vigorous Assault, entered

* *Buonconventa* is two Posts, or fourteen Miles, from *Siena*, and *Viterbo*, a City, forty Miles from *Rome*.

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entered the Town, not without some Loss on both Sides. The Inhabitants of *Piombino* also took up Arms, and tho' the *Senese* made an Attempt to possess themselves of that Town, yet by the Favour of the *Florentines* their old Lord was restored. The Duke of *Urbino* also, with the Lords of *Pesaro*, *Camerino*, and *Senigaglia*, were all reinstated in their Dominions*. Only the *Romagna*, tho' not without some Apprehensions from the *Venetians*, who had drawn together a great Body of Forces at *Ravenna*, remained quiet, and inclined to continue in Subjection to *Valentino*. For the People of that Province had learnt by Experience, that it was far more eligible to be subject, all of them together, to one potent Lord, than for each City to be under the Dominion of its particular Prince, who for

Want

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* Some write that *G. P. Baglioni*, in conjunction with Count *Pittigliano*, *Alviano*, and others of the Families of the *Orsini* and *Savelli*, marched out of *Rome* to *Viterbo*, and plundered and put to the Sword the *Gatafca* Faction, and took *Todi* and its Castle from the *Chiaravalli* Family; after which they went to *Perugia*, and expelled all that were of the Faction of the Church, and took other Towns and Castles from the Partisans of *Carlo Baglioni*.

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Want of Power could not defend them, and for Want of Money could do them no Kindness, but, on the contrary, his small Income being insufficient for his Maintenance, was obliged to oppress them. It was still fresh upon their Memory, that by the Greatness and Authority of their present Sovereign, and by his impartial Administration of Justice, their Country had been preserved in Peace, and from the tumultuous Outrages of Factions, with which they had before been continually plagued, and in which Murders had been often committed. By such a Behaviour he had won the Hearts of the People, as also by the Favours he had granted to many of them, distributing Money among the military Men, bestowing Offices, both in his own Dominions and in those of the Church, on the Gentlemen of the long Robe; and using his Interest with his Father in Behalf of Ecclesiastics, in the Disposal of Benefices. On these Accounts, neither the Example of all the rest who rebelled, nor the Memory of their antient Lords, were capable of alienating their Affections from

Vahn.

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Valentino, who, tho' oppressed with so many Calamities, was courted both by *French* and *Spaniards*, with vast Offers and Promises, to declare on their Side, with a View, not only to serve themselves with his Troops, but to gain the Votes of the *Spanish* Cardinals in the approaching Election.

BUT *Valentino*, tho', on account of his Réconciliation with the *Colonnas*, he was supposed to have taken the Part of the *Spaniards*, yet as he had no other Inducement for so doing but his Fear that they would confederate with the *Orsini*, and had at that very Time, as he said, declared that he would not be bound to act, in any Respect, against the King of *France*, he resolved to espouse the Cause of the *French*; for both in *Rome*, where their Army was so nigh, and in his other Dominions, they had it in their Power to do him more Mischief or Kindness than the *Spaniards*. Wherefore on the First of *September* he entered into an Agreement with Cardinal *Sanseverino* and Monsieur *Trans*, the King's Ambassador, contracting

Valentino
declares.

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tracting Parties in the Name of the King, by which he engaged to lend his Troops for the Expedition to *Naples*, or for any other Enterprize, except against the Church. On the other Side, the aforesaid Agents received him and all his Dominions under the Royal Protection, and engaged to assist him in the Recovery of those which had been lost. *Valentino* besides gave them some Hopes that he would procure the Votes of the greater Part of the *Spanish* Cardinals in Favour of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who was in high Expectations of obtaining the Pontificate by the Authority, Money, and Arms of the King his Master, and with that Prospect had set out from *France* for *Rome*, attended by the Cardinal of *Aragon* and Cardinal *Ascanio*. This last had two Years before been released from his Imprisonment in the Tower of *Bourges*, honourably introduced into Court, and highly caressed by *Rouen*, in Hopes that on the first Vacation of the Pontificate he might be very serviceable to him on Account of his antient Reputation, and of the numerous Train of Friends and Dependents

pendents which he used to have at the Court of Rome. But his Hopes were built on a sandy Bottom, for *Valentino* had not the total Disposal of the *Spanish* Cardinals, who were more intent, as is usual with other Mortals, on seeking their own Profit, than mindful to return the Favours bestowed on them by his Father and himself. Many of them also were apprehensive of incurring their King's Displeasure, and could not so forget themselves as to chuse a *French* Cardinal for Pope, nor would *Ascanio*, if it lay in his Power, have consented that *Rozen* should obtain the Pontificate, to the utter Depression and extinguishing of all Hopes that yet remained in himself and in those of his Family.

THEY had not yet entered upon the Election of a new Pontiff, not only because they had begun later than ordinary the Celebration of the Exequies of the Deceased, which requires nine Days, before the End of which the Cardinals, according to ancient Custom, enter not into the

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the Conclave *, but also because for the sake of preventing all Occasion and Danger of a Schism, in so troublesome a Juncture, and such interesting Divisions among Princes, the Cardinals who were present had agreed to allow Time for the Arrival of those who were absent. And yet after they were come, the College was still held in Suspense, and under Apprehensions that the Election would not be carried on with due Freedom, with respect to the Forces under *Valentino*, and because the *French* Army, which was now all assembled in one Body between *Nepi* and *L'Isola*, with a Design to extend their Quarters as far as *Rome*, refused to pass the *Tiber* before a new Pope was elected, either out of Apprehensions that the opposite Party would force the College to chuse a Person after their own Heart, or because the Cardinal of *Rouen* would

* The Law for regulating the Creation of a new Pope appoints, that nine Days be allotted after the Death of a Pope for the coming of the Cardinals that live at a Distance, during which Time the Exequies are every Day performed ; and on the tenth Day the Cardinals who are present, after invoking the Holy Ghost, shut themselves up in the Conclave, and attend the Business of an Election.

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would have it so, for his own better Security, and that it might favour his Design upon the Pontiff. After much Contention, the Cardinals refusing to enter the Conclave, till Matters were composed, the Cardinal of *Rouen* passed his Word, to the College that the *French* Army should not advance nearer than *Nepi* and *L'Isola*; and *Valentino* consented to leave *Rome*, and betake himself to *Nepi*, from whence he went to *Civita Castellana*, having ordered Three Hundred Men at Arms and Three Hundred Light Horse under *Lodovico della Mirandola* and *Alexander da Trivulzi* to join the *French* Army. The College then ordered a good Body of Foot to guard the City, and empowered three Prelates, appointed to guard the Conclave, to open the Gates in case of any Tumult, that every one of the Cardinals having free Liberty to go where he pleased, there might be no Room for any one to think of putting a Force upon them.

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Preliminaries to
an Election of a
Pope.

At last there entered into the Conclave to the Number of eight and thirty

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Cardinals,

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Cardinals, whose Difunion and Disagreement, instead of causing Delays, as was usual at other Times, was now the Cause of hastening the Election, and declaring a new Pope in a few Days. For tho' they could by no Means agree about the Person whom they were to elect, on account of their different Views, but principally from the Disputes between the Cardinals that depended on the King of France, and the *Spanish* Cardinals, or Dependants on the King of Spain; yet as every one was concerned for his own Safety, (the Affairs of *Rome* being in the utmost Disorder, and the People tumultuous) and considered what mischievous Accidents might possibly happen, in such troublesome Times, during the Vacation of the Apostolic See, they were inclined, with the Approbation of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, whose Hopes of being promoted himself decreased every Day, to elect *Francesco Piccolomini*, Cardinal of *Siena*, who being very old, and at that Time infirm, it was presumed that he could not survive for any Length of Time. He was undoubtedly a Person of an unspotted Character,

Cardinal
of *Siena*
elected
Pope.

Character, and, if we were to judge by his other Qualifications, not unworthy of this high Dignity. He assumed the Name of *Pius III.* to renew the Memory of his Uncle *Pius II.* who promoted him to the Purple *.

As soon as a Pope was elected, the French Army having no farther Cause to lie still in their Quarters, pursuing their first intended March, immediately passed the *Tiber*. But neither the Creation of a Pope, nor the Departure of the Army, quieted the Commotions in *Rome*, for they expected the Coming of *Alviano* and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, who were jointly raising Forces in the *Perugine*, *Valentina*, who still laboured under a dangerous Disorder, being apprehensive of their Coming, was returned to *Rome* with Two Hundred Men at Arms, as many Light Horse, and Eight Hundred Foot, having obtained a safe Conduct from the Pope, who was in Hopes of restoring Peace and Order by some Kind of Composition. But *Valen-*

Q. 2

tino

* *Piccolomini* was elected Pope September 22, 1503, and crowned October 8. Buonac.

A. D. *tino* and the *Orfini* being within the same
 1503. Walls, and the *Orfini* burning with Thirst
 after the Duke's Blood on very just Provocation, and receiving continual Reinforcements, tho' they had demanded speedy Justice against him of the Pope and the College of Cardinals, yet they principally depended on doing themselves Justice by Force of Arms, at least as soon as they should be joined by *Gian Pagolo Baglione* and *Abviano*. Hence *Rome*, and the Suburbs in which *Valentino* had his Quarters, were seldom without Commotions; and these Contentions between the Parties not only greatly disturbed the Court and People of *Rome*, but had a bad Influence, as it was believed, on the *French* Affairs. For the *Orfini* were preparing, as soon as they had dispatched their Business with *Valentino*, to enter into either the Service of the King of *France* or the King of *Spain*; and as the Accession of their Force was reckoned of no small Importance towards the Decision of the War, they had large Offers made by both Parties. But as they were naturally more addicted to the *French* Interest, the Cardinal of *Rouen* had, by the

the King's Commission, taken into Pay ^{A. D. 1503.}
Giulio Orfino, who contracted with him
 in the Name of the whole Family, except *Alviano*, for whom a Post was reserved with honourable Conditions. But the Arrival of that Officer gave a new Turn to the Affair; for tho' in the Beginning he had in a Manner agreed with the Cardinal, yet being the Moment after closeted by the *Spanish* Ambassador, he engaged to enter himself, with the whole Family of the *Orfini*, except *Gian Gior-*^{The Or-}
dano, with Five Hundred Men at Arms,^{fini join the Span-}
 on receiving a Salary of Sixty Thousand Ducats, into the Service of the King his Master. What chiefly induced *Alviano* to take this hasty Resolution, was, as he constantly affirmed, his Resentment and Disdain that *Rouen*, who, he found, now more than ever affected the Pontificate, should favour *Valentino*, in hopes by his Means to obtain the major Part of the Votes of the *Spanish* Cardinals. The Cardinal however endeavoured to clear himself by laying the Blame on others, and would perswade the World that the *Venetians* were in Fault, out of a
 Q 3 malicious

A. D.

1503.

malicious Desire that the King of *France* should not get Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, for which End they had not only consented that *Alviano* should quit their Service, with a Promise, as it was said, to keep his Post vacant for him, but had also lent the *Spanish* Ambassador Ten Thousand Ducats, to enable him to make prompt Payment to the Forces in the Beginning. Tho' this be not altogether certain, it cannot however be denied that the *Venetian* Ambassador was manifestly concerned in this Business. Others assure us that the true Reason of this Step of *Alviano*, was his obtaining better Terms from the *Spaniards*; for they obliged themselves to bestow Places in the Kingdom of *Naples* on him and others of his Family, and Ecclesiastical Revenues on his Brother, and, what had a great Effect upon him, they promised to assist him, when the War was finished, with Two Thousand *Spanish* Foot, for an Enterprize he was meditating against the *Florentines* in Favour of *Piero de' Medici*.*

- I T

* *Giovio*, in his Second Book of the Life of *Gonsalvo*, imputed the Cause of the *Orsini's* entering into the

It was expected that *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, who was now come to *Rome* with *Alviano*, as he followed the Example of *Giulio*, in treating at the same Time with the *French* and with the *Spaniards*, would also imitate him in taking the same Resolution. But the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who was astonished at the Alienation of the *Orfini*, being sensible that the Affairs of the *French*, which were in a very hopeful Way, were by these Means reduced to a dubious State, immediately took him into his Master's Pay, on his own Terms, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms; but under the Name of the *Florentines*, because *Gian Pagolo* would have it so, that he might be the more secure of his Payments when they became due; as they were to be deducted from the Sum due from them to the King by vir-

Q 4

tue

Spanish Service to *M. Trans*, the *French* Ambassador at *Rome*, who had persuaded himself that the *Orfini* ought to serve his King even without Stipend or Reward. Wherefore *Alviano*, disgusted at his Pride as well as his Covetousness, embraced the Party of the *Spaniards*, and he was confirmed in this Resolution by the *Colonnas*.

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tue of Treaties *. *Gian Pagolo*, however, after he had returned to *Perugia* to review his Troops, and had received Fourteen Thousand Ducats, regulating his Conduct more according to the ordinary Success of Things, and by his own Passions and Interests, than in a Manner becoming the Honour and Faith of a Soldier, delayed going to the *French* Army on various Pretences, and never moved from *Perugia*; which was interpreted by the Cardinal of *Rouen*, as that *Gian Pagolo*, in conformity to the Practice of the *Italian* Captains of those Times, who shewed but little Sincerity and Honour in their Dealings, was, at the very time he entered into Pay, under a Promise to *Bar- tolomeo Alviano* and the *Spaniards*, to act in that Manner.

Peace be-
tween the
Orfini and
Colonnas.
THIS Step of the *Orfini* was attend-
ed with a Peace between them and the
Colonnas, which was concluded at the
same time in the House of the *Spanish*
Am-

* The City of *Florence* was obliged to pay *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, after he was entered into the *French* Service, the Sum of Sixty Thousand Ducats, which was due to the King on account of his Protection. *Buo- nac.*

THE WARS IN ITALY. 249.

Ambassador, to whose Arbitration, and ^{A. D.} to that of the *Venetian* Minister, both ^{1503.} Parties, with one Consent, referred all their Differences.

THIS Union of the two Factions terrified *Valentino*, who resolved to leave *Rome*, and was preparing for his Removal to *Bracciano*, to which Place *Giangiordano* had given his Word of Honour to the Cardinal of *Rouen* to conduct him in Safety. *Gian Pagolo* and the *Orfini* were disposed to attack him, but finding they could not get into the Suburb by the Bridge of *St. Angelo*, they marched out of the City, and fetching a long Circuit, came to the Gate of *Torrone*. Finding it shut, they burnt it down, and entering the Suburb, began to skirmish with some of *Valentino's* Horse. And tho' many of ^{*Valentino*} the *French* Soldiers, who were not yet departed out of *Rome*, repaired to his Assistance, yet so vigorous was the Attack, and so great the Fury of his Enemies, that his own Troops, who had before been much diminished, seemed ready to abandon him. He was constrained, therefore,

A. D. 1503. therefore, together with the Prince of *Squillacci*, and some *Spanish* Cardinals, to take Refuge in the Palace of the Vatican, whence he immediately retired into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, where the Governor, who was the same as in the Time of the late Pontificate, gave him his Word, with the Pope's Consent, to leave him at liberty to depart whenever he pleased. On his Flight all his Troops were dispersed, and in the Fray the Bailiff of *Caen* was slightly wounded, and the Cardinal of *Rouen* was that Day in great Fear of his Life.

Death of
Pope
Pius III.

By this Event all Occasions of Offence were removed, and the Tumults in *Rome* ceased of consequence, so that they began quietly to proceed to the Creation of a new Pope; for *Pius*, not deceiving the Expectations of the Cardinals, on the 26th Day after his Election departed this Life *. After his Death the

Car-

* *Pius III.* is supposed to have died of Poison conveyed into a fistulous Ulcer which he had in his Leg, at the Instigation of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, the Tyrant of *Siena*. He was aged 64 Years, 5 Months, and 10 Days, and was buried in *St. Peter's* in the Chapel of *St. Andrew*, in a marble Sepulchre. He died Oct. 18, 1503, and *Julius* was declared Pope on November 1.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 251

Cardinals for some Days delayed entering into the Conclave, because they were willing that *Rome* should be first cleared of the *Orsini*, who remained there for compleating their Levies; but in the mean time agreed on their Choice without Doors. For the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, who excelled in Friends, Riches; and Reputation, had engrossed the Votes of such a Number of the Cardinals, that those who were of a contrary Party found no Room for Opposition. Wherefore entering the Conclave Pope already pre-elected and established, he was, the last Night in *October*, without shutting the Conclave, exalted to the Pontificate. An Instance without Precedent in the Memory of Man! The new Pope, either because he had a Respect for his first Name *Giuliano*, or, as it was reported, to signify the Vastness of his Ideas, or perhaps, because he would not yield to *Alexander* in Excellence of Name, assumed that of *Giulio*, being the Second, among all the Popes who have sat in the Chair, of that Denomination.

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Election
of Pope
Julius II.

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Character
of the new
Pope.

Reasons
for his
Advance-
ment.

It was certainly Matter of great Surprise to all the World, that there should be so great an Unanimity in electing a Cardinal, who was universally known to be of a very untractable Temper, and dreaded by every Body, and who was always of a very restless Disposition, and had spent his Time in continual Bustles and Contentions; whence he must of Necessity have offended Multitudes, and drawn upon himself the Hatred and Enmity of many great Personages *. But, on the other hand, there were manifest Reasons for his surmounting all Difficulties in making his Way to the Popedom; for he had been a Cardinal of long standing, of great Power and Influence; and by his Magnificence, in which he surpassed all others, and by his unparalleled Greatness of Soul, had not only acquired a great Number of Friends, but an inveterate and established Authority in the Court of *Rome*, and had obtained the Name

* *Giovio*, in the first Book of his History, gives this Character of the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, that he was of a turbulent and terrible Spirit.

Name of being the principal Defender of the Ecclesiastical Dignity and Immunities. But what much more effectually pleaded in his Favour, and contributed to his Promotion, was the immoderate and unbounded Promises, which he made to the Cardinals, Princes, Barons, and to every one that could be of Service to him in his Election, of whatever they pleased to demand. He had it also in his Power to distribute Sums of Money, and to dispose of a Multitude of Benefices and Ecclesiastical Dignities, both of his own and of others. For such was the Fame of his Munificence, as to attract Multitudes, who came voluntarily to offer him the Use and free Disposal of their Purse, their Name, their Places, and their Benefices, without considering that his Promises was much greater than, when he should be afterwards a Pope, it lay in his Power, or was consistent with his Duty, to perform. He had long born the Character of a frank and open-hearted Person, and a Speaker of Truth; even *Alexander VI.* his bitter Enemy, who was not wanting to expose his Faults, would yet confess

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His Popularity.

A. D. confess that he was a Man of Veracity.

1503.

But as *Vincola* was sensible that no Man has it more in his Power to deceive others, than one who is not used, and is never thought to deceive, so, for the sake of obtaining the Pontificate, he did not scruple to sully this amiable Character.

Cardinals
Rouen, Ascanio, &c.
how indu-
ced to
vote for
him.

THE Cardinal of *Rouen* gave his Assent to his Election; for as he now despaired of obtaining the Popedom, he flattered himself that, on the Score of former Favours and Dependences, he might suppose the new Pope to be a Friend to his King, as he had been hitherto reported. Cardinal *Ascanio* also voted for *Vincola*, after a Reconciliation had first passed between them, in which all old Differences and Disputes that had subsisted ever since they were both Cardinals, and Attendants on the Court of *Rome*, before the Pontificate of *Alexander*, was buried in Oblivion *. For *Ascanio*, who was better acquainted than *Rouen* with the Temper of *Vincola*, was in hopes that he would

The Contentions between these two Cardinals were the Cause of *Alexander's* Election. See above, Book I.

would be of the same restless Disposition after he was Pontiff, or rather in a greater Degree than when he was in a lower Station, and that his Projects might open a Way for his Family's recovering the Dutchy of *Milan*. And as for the *Spanish* Cardinals, tho' at first they were utterly averse, also gave their Consent. For when they saw so great a Concurrence of Votes in favour of *Vincola*, and doubted, that it was out of their Power to prevent his Election, they thought it a safer Way to soften him by giving their Assent, than to exasperate him by voting against him. Besides they had some Confidence in the mighty Promises he made them, and were induced by the Persuasions and Intreaties of *Valentino*, who was involved in such Calamities that he was under a Necessity of embracing any Expedient that offered, tho' never so dangerous. But he was disappointed of his Hopes as well as others. For *Vincola* had promised him to give his Daughter in Marriage to *Francesco Maria della Rive*, Prefect of *Rome*, his own Nephew, and to confirm him in the Post of Captain General

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General of the Army of the Church, and; what was of more Importance, to assist him in the Recovery of the States of *Romagna*, all of which, except the Fortresses, had revolted from his Obedience.

Revolu-
tions in
Romagna.

THE Affairs of *Romagna*, where was nothing but Changes and Novelties, greatly disturbed the Mind of the new Pope, who was very sensible that he had it not in his Power, at present, to settle that Province in what Manner he pleased, and the growing Greatness of the *Venetians* was become almost intolerable to him. When the People of *Romagna* had received Advice that *Valentino* was fled into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and that the Troops he had with him were dispersed, those Cities which had before waited in Patience for his Arrival amongst them, now losing all Hopes, began to take different Parties. *Cesena* returned to its ancient Obedience to the Church. *Imola*, the Governor of the Castle being assassinated by means of some of the principal Citizens, stood in Suspense, some preferring the Dominion of the Church, and

and others willing to return under the Subjection of their antient Lords the *Riarii*. The City of *Forli*, which had long been in the Possession of the *Ordelafi*, before it devolved to the *Riarii*, by the Concession of Pope *Sixtus*, had recalled *Antonio* of the same Family, who first attempted an Entrance with some Troops of the *Venetians*, but afterwards being apprehensive that they would make use of his Name, in order to get possession of it for themselves, had recourse to the *Florentines*, and was restored with their Assistance. *Giovanni Sforza* was returned to *Pesaro*, and *Pandolfo Malatesta* to *Rimini*, both of them recalled by the People; but *Dionigi di Naldo*, an old Soldier of *Valentino*, at the Request of the Governor of the Castle of *Rimini*, came to his Assistance, and putting to Flight *Pandolfo*, that City returned under Subjection to *Valentino*. The *Faventines* only persevered along time in their Allegiance to the Duke; but at last, being deprived of all hopes of his Return, they bethought themselves of the Remains of the House of the *M Manfredi*, their antient Lords, and, for want

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A. D. of a legitimate Heir, called in young
 1503. *Astorre*, a Bastard of that Family.

Ambition
 of the
Venetians.

BUT the *Venetians* aspiring at the Dominion of all *Romagna*, had, immediately after the Death of *Alexander*, ordered a good Body of Troops to *Ravenna*, with which one Night they made a vigorous and unexpected Attack upon the City of *Cesena*, but the People manfully defending themselves, the Enemy, who had brought no Cannon with them, as depending more on Surprize than open Force, returned into the Territory of *Ravenna*, still intent on every thing that might give them an Opportunity for extending themselves in that Province, which readily presented itself from a Quarrel between *Dionigi di Naldo* and the *Faventines*. *Dionigi*, it seems, was extremely chagrined at the Return of the *Faventines* under Subjection to the *Manfredi*, against whom they had rebelled when *Valentino* besieged their City; wherefore calling in the *Venetians*, he delivered into their Hands the Fortresses of the *Valdimone*, which were intrusted to his Keeping. Shortly

Shortly after the Governor of the Castle of *Faenza* corrupted with Money, admitted Three Hundred *Venetian* Foot into that Fortress. * At the same time they took possession of the Castle of *Forlìmpopoli*, and many other Castles in *Romagna*; and sent a Detachment of their Troops to possess themselves of the City of *Fano*, but the Citizens resolutely defended the Place for the Church. They were also introduced into *Rimini* with the good Will of the People, having first articulated with *Pandolfo Malatesta* to give him in recompense the Town of *Cittadella* in the Territory of *Padova*, with a yearly Pension, and a standing Command of a Company of Men at Arms †. After this they applied themselves with all Expedition to the Siege of *Faenza*; for the *Faentinians* were not discouraged at the Loss of their Castle; but taking Advantage of its low Situation, had soon separated

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* This Governor was *Ramiro* a *Spaniard*, who demanded of the Senate of *Venice* the Command of Five Hundred Horse, with a yearly Salary of Two Thousand Ducats, which was granted him. *Brabo*.

† *Pandolfo* and his Descendants upon this account were created noble *Venetians*.

A. D. it from the City by a deep Ditch, so that

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it could not greatly incommode them, and then made a brave Defence, being well affected to the Name of the *Manfredi*, and full of Indignation that the Men of the *Valdimone* had presumed to dispose of the Dominion of *Faenza*. But they were too weak of themselves to make any Defence, for the *Venetians*, under *Cbristoforo Moro* the Proveditor, had invested the Town with an Army and Artillery, and had possessed himself of the most important Places in their Territory.

Favenn-
tines crave
Aid of the
Pope.

They therefore implored Assistance of *Julius*, who was then just entered on the Pontificate. The Pope was greatly disturbed at this Audaciousness of the *Venetians*; but as he was but newly seated in the Chair, and was destitute of Forces and Money, and could expect no Assistance from the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, who were employed in Matters of greater Importance, and also because he had refused to associate himself with either of these Princes, his only Resource lay in the Respect due to the Pontifical Name and Authority. Of what Value this

this might be with the *Venetian* Senate, ^{A. D. 1503.} when enforced with the Regard that ought to be paid to the Friendship that had so long subsisted between himself and their Republic, he concluded on making the Experiment by sending the Bishop of *Tivoli* to *Venice*. That Prelate had Orders to remonstrate that his Holiness ^{Pope intercedes with the Venetians in vain.} was very sorry that, *Faenza* being a City belonging to the Church, they had not refrained from offering such Dishonour to a Pope, who, before his Exaltation to that Dignity, had been always cordially affected to their Republic, and from whom in his present high Station they might expect to reap, in a most abundant Measure, the Fruits of his antient Benevolence,

It is highly probable, that there were not wanting among the Senate some of those Patriots who had before dissuaded their entangling themselves in the Affairs of *Pisa*, their receiving in pledge the Ports of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and their dividing the Dutchy of *Milan* with the King of *France*, who now represented

A. D. 1503. the Consequences of their raising every Day new Jealousies and Suspicions, and rendering themselves more and more obnoxious to their Neighbours, by making, amongst all the rest, an Enemy of the Pope. But the ambitious Counsels of that Senate had been hitherto favoured with such happy Success, that they resolved to spread all their Sails to so prosperous a Wind of Fortune, and therefore the Speeches of those who advised other Measures were not heard,

Answer of the Venetians to the Pope. AN Answer, therefore, was drawn up, and agreed to by a great Majority to the following Effect; * That the Senate had always ardently desired that the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola* should be promoted to the Pontificate, on account of the Friendship which had so very long subsisted

* The Answer given by the Council of Ten to the Bishop of *Freggi*, the Pope's Nuncio at *Venice*, as we read in *Bembo*, was, That the Senate was sorry that such Proposals should come from the Pope, as being contrary to the Opinion which they had entertained of *Julius*; and that the Republic had wrested *Bimini* and *Ravenna* out of the Hands of the Tyrants, to which he himself had exhorted them when he was a Cardinal, and therefore they designed to keep them as Vicars of the Church.

sisted between them, and had been confirmed by a mutual Intercourse of innumerable kind Offices and Benefits on both Sides; that since they had paid him so much Deference when a Cardinal, there was no Room to doubt that they would not pay him much more Honour and Respect now he was Pope. But they could not understand how they had offended his Dignity by embracing the Opportunity which offered itself of possessing *Faenza*, because that City was not only out of the Possession of the Church, but this same Church had voluntarily divested itself of all its Dominion thereunto by transferring its Sovereignty in full and ample Manner, in a Consistory, to Duke *Valentino*: That his Holiness ought to remember, that even before this Concession, the Pontiffs had not been in possession of *Faenza* in the Memory of Man; but that it had passed from time to time by Grant to new Vicars, who, as Lords, paid the Popes no other Acknowledgment of their Superiority than a Tribute, which the Senate was ready to pay provided it was their Due: That the *Fa-*

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ventines were not desirous of the Dominion of the Church, but had it in Abhorrence, and had been zealously attached to the Name of *Valentino* to the last Extremity ; and when they had lost all Hopes of his Patronage, precipitately called in the Bastards of the House of *Manfredi*, They concluded with their humble Desire that the Pontiff would preserve in himself the same good Will and Affection to the *Venetian* Senate, as he had demonstrated when a Cardinal,

THE Pope, as soon as he was certified of this Resolution of the *Venetians*, would have sent into *Romagna* Duke *Valentino*, whom, immediately on his Elevation to the Pontificate, he had entertained and treated with great Honour and Demonstrations of Benevolence, and had appointed him an Apartment in the Pontifical Palace. But he altered his Mind on further Consideration, being apprehensive that the Duke's going to *Romagna*, which at first would have been acceptable to all Ranks of People, would, in the present Juncture, be highly disagreeable, because

because there had been a general Revolt from his Government. The *Faventines* ^{A. D. 1503.}

then had no other Way left but to have Recourse to the *Florentines*, who could not but be uneasy that a City so near to their Borders should fall into the Hands of the *Venetians*, and had therefore at first ordered a Succour of Two Hundred Foot, and given them Hopes of a further Supply, in order to encourage them to hold out till the Pope could find Time to relieve them. But the *Florentines* finding that the Pope was not disposed to take up Arms*, and that the Authority of the King of *France*, who had from the Beginning charged the *Venetians* to give no Disturbance to the Estates of *Valentino*, was not sufficient to restrain them, were unwilling to involve themselves in War with such potent Enemies, and desisted from sending the *Faventines* any further Assistance. They therefore, despairing

* This appears from *Bembo*, who tells us, that when the *Florentines*, by the Mouth of Cardinal *Soderini*, would have persuaded the Pope that the *Venetians* paid no Respect to his Authority; and when the *Venetian* Ambassador defended his Republic, the Pope made Answer that he gave no Credit to Detractors.

A. D. 1503. *Faenza* *taken by the Venetians.* *spairing of Relief, and the Venetian Army, having made a Lodgment in the Church of the Franciscans, beginning to batter the Walls of the Town (which was also in a great Commotion at the Discovery of a Plot for delivering the Place to the Venetians, for which some were taken into Custody) surrendered their City, securing by Agreement with the Besiegers a small Pension to Asorre during his Life.*

THE *Venetians*, after the Conquest of *Faenza*, might easily have possessed themselves of *Imola* and *Forlì*; but to give no further Provocation to the Pope, who highly resented their Proceedings, they ordered their Troops to their former Post, having made themselves Masters in *Romagna*, not only of *Faenza* and *Rimini* with their Territories, but also of *Monte Fiore*, *Sant Arcangelo*, *Verrucchio*, *Gattera*, *Savignano*, *Meldola*, the Port of *Cesena*, and of *Tosignano*, *Solaruolo*, and *Monte Battaglia* in the Territory of *Imola*. Nothing now remained to *Valentine* in *Romagna*, but the Castles of *Forlì*, *Cesena*, *Forlimpopoli* and *Bertinoro*, which, tho'

tho' he heartily wished to go himself in Person to *Romagna*, he would have consented to deliver them up to the Pope, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*, on Condition of having them restored when they were in a better State of Security. But the Pope, who had not yet quite freed himself from the Shackles of his antient Sincerity, refused the Offer, saying he would not voluntarily put himself in an Occasion which might tempt him to break his Word. At last, to stop in some Measure the Progress of the *Venetians*, who became very formidable to him on Account of the Danger of the Ecclesiastical State, and his Holiness, besides, being desirous that *Valentino* should leave *Rome*, he entered into an Agreement, subscribing his own Name, and the Cardinals subscribing their Names to the following Convention: That the Duke should go by Sea to *Spetie*, and from thence by Land to *Ferrara*, and after that to *Imola*; where he was to take upon him the Command of One Hundred Men at Arms, and One Hundred Light Horse, which still served under

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A. D. under his Banner. Pursuant to this Resolution *Valentino* set out to embark at *Ostia* *; but the Pope repenting that he had not accepted the Fortresses, and now thinking to have them at any Rate, and to keep them for himself, dispatched the Cardinals of *Volterra* and *Sorrente* to *Ostia*, to persuade the Duke, that, in order to prevent those Places being seized by the *Venetians*, it was his best Way to deposit them in the Hands of the Pontiff, under the same Promise as when they had treated on that Head at *Rome*. But *Valentino* refusing to do it, the Pope in great Anger ordered him to be arrested on board the Galley in which he was already embarked, and to be conducted thence under an honourable Guard, to *Magliano*, from whence he was conveyed to the Palace, the Court and all *Rome* making public Rejoicings for his Captivity. Here, he was kept in safe Custody,

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Valentino
leaves
Rome.

* After the Conquest of *Faenza* and *Rimini*, the *Venetians* had determined to take no more Towns in *Romagna*, because they would not irritate the Pope; but on Information that *Borgia* was returning to recover his Estate, they altered their Resolution, and took possession of the Towns here mentioned at *Bembo*.

Custody, but honoured and careſſed, be-
 cauſe the Pontiff, fearing that the Go-
 vernors of the Fortreſſes, deſpairing of
 their Maſter's Redemption, would ſell
 them to the *Venetians*, endeavoured to
 obtain his Assignments of thoſe Places by
 generous and humane Treatment.

THUS fell *Valentino* from the Height of
 his Greatneſs, to which he had haſtened
 his Aſcent by Steps of Fraud and Cruelty, no
 leſs than by the Arms and Power of the
 Church; and thus did the ſpeedy Increate
 of his Grandeur terminate in his more
 ſpeedy Ruin, after having experienced the
 ſame deluſive Arts practiſed upon himſelf,
 with which he and his Father had plagued
 ſo many others. Nor did his Troops
 meet with any better Fortune; for after
 they had marched into the Territory of
Perugia, in Hopes of obtaining a Pro-
 tection from the *Florentines* and others,
 being cloſely purſued by the Forces of
Baglioni, the *Vitelli* and the *Senefe*, they
 retired into the Dominions of the *Floren-
 tines*. Here, having diſperſed themſelves
 between *Caſtigliano* and *Cortona*, and being
 reduced

A. D. reduced to Four Hundred Horse and a few Infantry, they were by Order of the

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His
Troops
disarmed
and strip-
ped.

Florentines disarmed and stripped. Don *Michele*, their Leader, was made a Prisoner, and delivered up to the Pope, who demanded him with the utmost Importunity, because he hated all that had had Employments under the Pontificate of *Alexander*, and this *Michele* had been a most trusty Servant of *Valentino*, and his principal Agent in the Execution of all his Villainies. But as it was in the Nature of the Pope easily to relent and be mitigated towards those who lay at his Mercy, and might expect his Severity, he ordered him not long after to be released.

THE Cardinal of *Rouen* left *Rome* about this Time on his Return to *France*, having first obtained of *Julius*, more by Constraint, because he durst not deny him, than free Will, a Confirmation of his Legateship of that Kingdom. But Cardinal *Ascanio* would not accompany him, tho' he had, when he departed from *France*, promised the King, upon Oath, to return thither; but he had obtained private

private Absolution of his Oath by the Pope. The Cardinal of *Rouen*, however, would take no Warning from Cardinal *Astasio*'s Imposition on him, to be more cautious in his Dealings with *Pandolfo Petrucci*. That Nobleman received his Eminence in *Siena* with all the Marks of Honour, and by fly Hints, cunning Persuasions, and fair Promises of restoring *Montepulciano* to the *Florentines*, so far insinuated himself into the good Opinion of the Cardinal, that his Eminence, after his Return to *France*, not only declared that he had never met with a wiser Man in all *Italy*, but also prevailed on the King to grant Leave to *Pandolfo*'s Son *Borghese*, who had been sent into *France* as an Hostage for the Performance of his Father's Promises, to return to *Siena*.

A. D.
1503.

Pandolfo's
cunning
Manage-
ment of
the Car-
dinal of
Rouen.

THESE were the Changes that were occasioned in *Italy* by the Death of the Pope; but the Enterprizes of the King of *France*, at the same time, on the other side the Mountains, which promised so much Success, laboured under great Embarrassments. For the Army which had

marched

A. D.

1503.

Sals be-
sieged in
vain by
the French

marched to the Borders of *Gascony*, for Want of Pay, and of good Conduct in the General, was soon dissolved; and the Fleet, after cruising some time in the *Spanish* Seas to little Purpose, retired into the Port of *Marseilles*; and as for the Army that marched towards *Perpignan*, where the King expected great Impression to be made, because it was well provided with all Necessaries, it had laid Siege to *Sals*, a Fortress not far from *Narbonne*, and situated at the Foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, in the County of *Roussillon* *. But the Place being in a good State of Defence, the Besieged made a stout Resistance; and tho' the *French* carried on the Siege with great Vigour, and used their utmost Efforts to batter down the Walls with their Cannon, or ruin them by their Mines, the Enterprize miscarried. For a very numerous Army of the *Spaniards*, collected out of all the Kingdoms of *Spain*, was assembled at *Perpignan*, with a Design to relieve the Place. The King.

* Its ancient Name was *Salsude*; it is situated on the Road to *Narbonne* by a standing Pool of brackish Water, where the Extremities of the *Pyrenean* Mountains are washed by the Sea of *Majorca*. *Giovio*.

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King of *Spain* also was come thither in Person, and that Army, on occasion of the Dissolution of the *French* Forces, which had been ordered towards *Fonterabia*, was joined by those Troops which had marched to defend that Frontier. All these Forces together being in motion to attack the Enemy, the *French* Commanders, being sensible of their Inferiority, raised the Siege of *Sals*, and retired towards *Narbonne*, having spent about Forty Days before the Place. They were followed by the *Spaniards*, who entered the Borders of *France*, and took some Towns which were of little Importance; but the *French* being encamped under the Cannon of *Narbonne*, they retired a few Days after into their own Country, by Order of their King, who was well satisfied that he had protected his Country; and repelled the Invader. For it was much against his Inclination to keep up a War on the other Side of the Mountains, knowing that his Kingdoms were very well able to defend themselves against a *French* Invasion, but were too weak to act upon the Offensive. But soon after,

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1503.

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1503

by the Interposition of King *Federigo*, a Truce was concluded for Five Months, with regard only to the Ultramontane Countries. For *Federigo*, being persuaded of the Intention of the King of *Spain* to restore him to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and hoping that he might also gain the Consent of the King of *France*, with whom the Queen, out of Compassion, had been very importunate for the same Purpose, had procured a Negotiation of Peace between them. During this Treaty, while the War was pushed on with Vigour in *Italy*, the Ambassadors of the King of *Spain* at the *French* Court managed Matters so artfully, that *Federigo* persuaded himself that the Difficulty of his Restoration, which was vehemently opposed by the Barons of the *Anjouin* Party, was to be imputed principally to the King of *France*.

THE whole Stress of the War between the two Kings being now reduced to the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Eyes and Attention of the Public were diverted wholly to that Part. The *French* then, after
leaving

leaving *Rome*, marched through the Towns and Villages of *Valmontone* and of the *Colonnas*, where they were freely supplied with Provisions. Hence they continued their March through the Ecclesiastical Campaign towards *St. Germano*, where *Gonsalvo*, after placing Garrisons in *Rocca Secca*, and *Monte Casino*, had posted himself, not with an Intention to hazard a Battle, but to prevent the Enemy from passing any further, which by the Strength of his Situation he was in hopes to effect. The *French* being arrived at *Ponte Corvo* and *Casperano* were joined by the Troops from *Gaeta* under the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who taking advantage of the Departure of *Gonsalvo*, had recovered the Dutchy of *Trajetto*, and the Territory of *Fondi* as far as the River *Garigliano*.

A. D.
1503.
Progress
of the
French
towards
Naples.

THE first Enterprize of the *French* Army was the Siege of *Rocca Secca*, which after one Assault given in vain, they quit-
ted, and by that means at once lost all their Credit and Reputation to such a Degree, that it was confidently asserted throughout the *Spanish* Army, that this Day's

French re-
pulsed at
Rocca
Secca.

A. D.

1503.

Work had secured the Kingdom of *Náples* from the *French* *. The Generals then, on this Repulse, despairing of finding means to dislodge the Enemy from the Post of *St. Germano*, resolved to attempt their Way by the Sea Coast; and for that End, after they had rested two Days in *Aquino*, which they had taken, they left Seven Hundred Foot in *Rocca Guglielma*, and returned back to *Ponte Corvo*, and marched along the Road of *Fondi*, with a Design to pitch their Camp by a Tower that commands the Pass of the River *Garigliano*. It is reported, that this was the Place where that very antient City *Minturnæ* was situated. The Spot indeed lies very convenient not only for laying a Bridge over the River, as the *French* had designed, but was extremely commodious, in case of Necessity, for their forming a standing Camp, where they would have *Gaeta* and their Fleet at their Backs, and have the Command of *Trajetto*, *Itri*, *Fondi*, and the whole Coun-

* *Giovio* says the *French* stormed the Place twice, and that the *Spaniards* defended themselves most valiantly, being commanded by *Vissalva*, a Man of a most resolute Temper.

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Country as far as the *Garigliano*. It was ^{A. D. 1503.} judged that the Event of the War, in a great measure, depended on the Passage of the River by the *French*. For *Gonsalvo* found himself so inferior in Force, that he could not hope to oppose them in an open Country, so that the *French* would have been at liberty to march to the Walls of *Naples*, which would have been at the same time invested by Sea with a Fleet, that would have met with no Opposition from any naval Force of the *Spaniards*.

GONSALVO, therefore, had decamped from *St. Germano*, and was arrived on the other Side of the *Garigliano*, in order to use his utmost Efforts to prevent the *French* from passing that River, which he was in good hopes to effect, considering the Disadvantages and Difficulties that must attend the Passage of unfordable Rivers in the Sight of an Enemy. But it often falls out, that what we account most difficult, proves most easy in the Event; and, on the contrary, what all imagine to be most easy, is found to be very difficult

S 3

when

A. D. when undertaken. Thus the *French*, in spite of all the Opposition the *Spaniards* could make, laid a Bridge, and gained the Passage of the River, under the Fire of their Cannon, partly planted on the Bank where they were encamped, which was somewhat higher than the opposite Bank, and partly on Barks taken from the Fleet, and hauled thither against the Course of the Stream. But the next Day, when the *French* begun to pass, the *Spaniards* opposed them, and attacking those who were already passed with great Vigour, repulsed them to the very Middle of the Bridge, and would have pushed them further, if they had not been constrained to retreat by the Fire of the Artillery. There fell in this Action, on the Part of the *French*, the Lieutenant of the Bailiff of *Dijon*; and of the *Spaniards*, *Fabio* Son of *Pagolo Orfino*, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, among the *Italian* Soldiery.

1503.
Action at
the Ga-
rigliano.

If the *French*, they say, when they first begun to pass, had bravely pushed forwards, they would have remained Masters

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Masters of the Field that Day. But while ^{A. D.} they proceeded slowly, and like Men that ^{1503.} were afraid, they not only lost the Opportunity of gaining a Victory for that Day, but, in a great measure, deprived themselves of all Hopes for the future. For ever after nothing prospered with them, their Generals disagreed among themselves, and, according to the usual Behaviour of *French* Soldiers to *Italian* Officers, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, the King's Lieutenant, had but little Obedience paid to his Orders; for which reason, or because, as he pretended, he was really disordered in Body; or else because, from the Observation he had made from the unfortunate Attempt on *Rocca Secca*, and now since that of this unlucky Day's Action in endeavouring to pass the River, he had lost all Hopes of Victory, he left the Army; which Step of his induced the *French* King to entertain a better Opinion of his Fidelity, than of his Courage, or Conduct in the Command of an Army.

AFTER his Departure the *French*

S 4

Generals,

A. D.

1503.

Generals, the Chief of whom were the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, the Bailiff of *Caen*, and *Sandricourt*, made at the Head of the Bridge, on the opposite Side of the River, a Barrier with Carriages, and then erected a Redoubt large enough to hold a good Number of Men, by which Means they were secured from the Attacks of the Enemy when they passed the Bridge. But their further Progress was retarded by other Difficulties, which arose partly through their own Fault, and partly through the Patience and Resolution of the Enemy, and some might be owing to the Partiality of Fortune. For *Gonsalvo*, who was intent on hindering them from advancing farther, by taking advantage of the Winter, and of the Situation of the Country, rather than by force of Arms, had entrenched himself at *Cintura*, a Village seated on a small Eminence, a little above a Mile from the River, his Infantry, and others belonging to the Army having their Quarters all around him ; but they lodged very inconveniently on account of the Solitariness of the Place, which was very thin of Houses, and

and the Huts of the Peasants and Shepherds were almost without any Covering, and also because the Soil, by reason of the low Situation of that flat Country, and the extraordinary Rains, was full of Water and Mud. Those Soldiers, therefore, who had not the Conveniency of lodging on higher Grounds, got together great Quantities of Fascines, and spread them on the Earth where they lay. On account of these Difficulties, and because the Army was but ill paid, and the *French* had the full Command of the Passage of the River, it was the Advice of some of the *Spanish* Officers to retreat to *Capua*, that the Troops might suffer no Loss, and to avoid the Danger, of which they were in continual Apprehensions, of being attacked by an Enemy superior in Force. But this Advice was rejected by *Gonsalvo*, out of his Greatness of Soul, in these ever memorable Words; "I would rather chuse, says he, to be buried instantly one Foot forwards, than by retreating a few Yards backwards to prolong my Life an Hundred Years." And thus by resisting and bearing up against Difficulties

A. D.
1503

Magnanimous
Resolution of
Gonsalvo.

A. D.

1503

cakies and Hardships with Firmness of Mind, and being deeply entrenched behind two Redoubts erected at the Front of his Quarters, he maintained himself in his Camp opposite to the *French*, who, notwithstanding they had erected a Redoubt, never offered to stir. For the Country was all overflowed by the Rains, and the Inundations of the Rivers, (it being the Place called by *Titus Livius*, on account of its Vicinity to *Sessa*, *Aqua sinuessanae*; and perhaps they are the Marshes of *Minturne*, in which *Caius Marius* hid himself when he fled from *Sylla*) so that they had no Way to advance but by a narrow Road, full of very deep Mud, and where all the Soil was like a Quagmire, and not without danger of being attacked in flank by the nimble Infantry of the *Spaniards*, who had their Quarters very near. It happened also that the Winter was extremely cold and sharp, and attended with almost continual Snows and Rains, very unusual in that Country; so that the Heavens and Fortune seemed to conspire together against the *French*. Their Army also, by thus lying

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lying still, did not only waste their Time A. D. 1593.
unprofitably, but received by this Delay, }
on account of their natural Temperament,
the same Mischief in a Manner, as human
Bodies receive from a slow, wasting Poi-
son. For tho' they were lodged in a
more convenient Manner than the *Spaniards*,
Part of them being placed within
the Remains of an antient Theatre, over
which they made Coverings of Wood,
and part in the neighbouring Cottages and
futtling Houses; besides the Place round
about the Tower being somewhat higher
than the Plain of *Sessa*, was less liable to
be overflowed, and the greater Part of
their Cavalry took up their Quarters in
Trajetto, and in the neighbouring Towns;
yet for all this the *French* and *Swiss*, not
being accustomed to endure such long
Fatigues and Inconveniencies, as the *Spaniards*,
the Ardor and Impetuosity of their
Spirits and Courage were continually cool-
ing and on the Decline. And their
Miseries were increased by the Awa-
rice of those who were entrusted by the
King with the Charge of paying the
Army, and supplying it with Provisions.
For

D. A.
1503.

Sickness
and other
Disorders
in the
French
Army.

For those Ministers, intent only on their own Gain, practised all Kinds of Fraud, suffering the Army to diminish in Numbers, and keeping the Camp short of Provisions. By these Practices, many Distempers were propagated amongst them, and the Number of Soldiers, tho' much the same with respect to Payments, was considerably lessened in effect, Part of the *Italian* Troops deserting the Service. These Disorders increased the Disagreement among the General Officers, by which Means the Army was not kept under proper Discipline, nor paid due Obedience to Orders.

THUS the *French*, prevented by the Severeness of the Winter, remained unactive on the Banks of the *Garigliano*, and made no Work neither for themselves nor their Enemies, except some small Skirmishes, of no Importance towards a Decision of the War, and in which the *Spaniards* appeared almost constantly to have the upper Hand; as it happened to the Troops which the *French* had left in Garrison at *Rocca Guglielma*, who
being

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being incapable of maintaining themselves A. D. 1503.
under the daily Molestation from the *Spanish* Garrisons of *Rocca Secca* and the
circumjacent Towns, and on the Return
to their Army, were encountered and
routed by them.

SUCH was the Posture of Affairs for
many Days, when *Bartolomeo Alviano*,
and the rest of the *Orsini*, with their
Troops, joined the *Spaniards*. By their
Coming the Forces of *Gonsalvo* were aug-
mented so as to make in the whole Nine
Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand
light Horse, and Nine Thousand *Spanish*
Infantry. That General, therefore, be-
gan to think of standing no longer upon
the defensive Part, but of acting offen-
sively, to which he was the more encou-
raged by knowing that the *French*, tho'
they were greatly superior to him in
Horse, were not so in Foot, and were
also dispersed abroad among the neigh-
bouring Towns in such a Manner, that
their Quarters took up little less than
Ten Miles in Compass; and that the
Marquis of *Saluzzo* the Viceroy, and the
other

^{1503.} *A. D.* other general Officers, with the lesser Part of the Army, had their Quarters round about the Tower of *Garigliano*; being well informed also that these Forces, tho' well supplied with Provisions, diminished daily by Sickness, and that many were already dead, among them the Bailiff of *Cæn*, he then resolved to attempt the Passage of the River by Stealth, and if he succeeded, he could no longer doubt of the Victory. With this View he gave Orders to *Alviano*, who, as some say, was the Author of this Project, to construct a Bridge of Boats, which he effected with all Secrecy in a Cottage near *Sessa*, and conveying it in the Night to the *Garigliano*, had it thrown over the River at the Passage of *Suio*, Four Miles above the Bridge of the *French*, and where they kept no Guard. As soon as the Bridge was laid, which was the Night of the 27th of *December*, the whole Army passed over, with *Gonsalvo* himself in Person, who that same Night took up his Quarters in the Town of *Suio*, which lies on the River, and had been possessed by the first Troops that had passed. The next

Gonsalvo
passes the
Garigliano
no.

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next Morning, which was *Friday*, a fortunate Day to the *Spaniards*, *Consul* gave Orders to the *Rearguard*, which was posted between the Castle of *Mendragone* and *Carinoli*, Four Miles below the Bridge of the *French*, to march and make an Attack upon their Bridge, while he himself, with the *Vanguard*, which was commanded by *Aluano*, and the main Battle which had passed with him, directed his March towards their Army; which having that same Night received Advice that the *Spaniards* had laid a Bridge, and were already passing the River, were under a very great Surprise and Consternation. For they had resolved to attempt nothing themselves till the Return of the fair Season, and had flattered themselves that their Enemies lay in the same careless and idle Posture, and were therefore in the greater Commotion on this bold and unforeseen Attempt. And as Fear is much readier at hand in such sudden Accidents, than Counsel or Resolution, the Viceroy, tho' he had assembled a Number of Soldiers that flocked to him from *Trajetto* and the circumjacent Places, where

A. D. 1503. where they had been dispersed, and detached *Aligre* with a Party of Horse and Foot towards *Sua*, to dispute the Passage; yet the Troops, finding that they were too late, and Fear getting the better of all Reasonings and Considerations, the whole Army decamped at Midnight in great Disorder from the Tower of the *Garrigliano*, in order to retire to *Gaeta*, abandoning most part of their Ammunition, and Nine Pieces of heavy Cannon, with the Wounded, and great Numbers of Sick.

French
decamp
in the
Night.

Gonsalvo, on the News of their Decamping, followed them with his Army, detaching *Prospero Colonna* with some light Horse before, with an Intent to harass, and so retard them in their March. *Prospero* coming up with their Rear before *Scandi*, begun to skirmish with them; but the *French* held on their Way, oftentimes making a Stand; and closing their Ranks to prevent Disorder at Bridges and at strong Passes, from whence, after sustaining the Pursuers a while, they retreated always with some Loss. The
Order

Order of their Retreat was in the following Manner: The Artillery proceeded foremost, next marched the Foot, and the Horse brought up the Rear, the hindmost of which were continually skirmishing with the Enemy. Proceeding in this Manner, sometimes halting, and sometimes skirmishing, they got to the Bridge that is before the Mole of *Gaeta*. Here the Viceroy was necessitated to make a Stand with some Part of his Men at Arms, to give time for the Artillery to proceed. For the heavy Pieces of Cannon being incapable of advancing with the same Degree of Celerity as the Troops, were overtaken by their Foot, and intermingled with them. In this Place happened a smart Engagement, in the Midst of which arrived the *Spanish* Rearguard, which had passed the River without Resistance, in the Boats of the same Bridge which the *French* had broken, and took the strait Road to *Gaeta*, whilst *Gonsalvo*, with the rest of the Army, had marched all along by the Sea Coast. The Fight was very hot for some time at the Bridge of the Mole, the *French*, tho' much

A. D.

1503.

intimidated, defending themselves chiefly by the Advantage of the Situation, whilst the *Spaniards*, thinking the Victory already in their Hand, attacked them with the utmost Resolution. At last the *Frenchmen* could no longer resist, and fearing that their Way should be intercepted by a Party of Troops which *Gonsalvo* had sent forwards along the Sea Coast for that Purpose, began to retreat in Disorder. Their Enemies followed them, and arriving at the Head of two Ways, of which one leads to *Itri* and the other to *Gaeta*, the *French* betook themselves to open Flight, with the Loss of many killed on the Spot, among whom was *Bernardino Adorno*, Lieutenant of Fifty Lances. The Cannon was abandoned, with all the Train Horses, many were taken Prisoners, and the rest escaped into *Gaeta*, being pursued by the Conquerors to the very Gates of the City.

French
totally de-
feated by
the *Spaniards*.

At the same time *Fabritio Colonna*, being ordered by *Gonsalvo*, passed the River with Five Hundred Horse and One Thousand

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Thousand Foot, and proceeded to *Ponte A. D.*
Corvo and *Prace*, and with the good Will ^{1509.}
of the greater Part of the Gentlemen
and Peasants of that Country, plundered
and stripped the Companies of *Lodovico*
della Mirandola and *Alessandro da Trivulzi*.
Besides these, many of those who had
been quartered in *Fondi*, *Itri*, and the
Places round about them, were disarmed
and stripped by the Peasants. These
Wretches having notice that the *Spaniards*
had laid a Bridge over the River, did
not attempt to join the *French Army* at
the Tower of the *Garigliano*, but en-
deavoured to save themselves by disorder-
ly dispersing, and skulking about the
Country. A greater Misfortune befel
Piero de' Medici, who had followed the
French Camp, and some other Noblemen.
For at the Decampment of the Army
from the *Garigliano*, these unfortunate
People entered on board a Bark, which
was laden with Four Pieces of Artillery,
to be transported to *Gaeta*, which being ^{*Piero de'*}
over burthened, and the Winds contrary, ^{*Medici*}
sank at the Mouth of the River, and all ^{drowned.}
were drowned.

T 2

CONSALVO

A. D.

1503.

GONSALVO, the Night following, quartered his Army at *Castellone* and *Mola*, and the Day after appeared before *Gaeta*, in which Place, besides the *French* Officers, the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignano* had taken Refuge. He immediately took possession of the Suburb, and of the Mount, which had been abandoned by the *French*. Tho' there were in *Gaeta* a sufficient Number of Men to defend it, and there was no Want of Provisions, and the Place lay very convenient for receiving Succours by Sea, yet the *French* were in low Spirits, and by no means disposed to endure the Tediouſness of waiting for uncertain Supplies. They immediately therefore applied themselves to make an Agreement, and, by Consent of the rest, the Bailiff of *Dijon*, *Santa Columba*, and *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, went out of the City to treat with *Gonsalvo* *.

Gaeta capitulates.

IT

* The General Officers that capitulated with *Gonsalvo* were *Alegre* on the Part of the *French*, *Antonio Baffio* for the *Swiss*, and *Teodoro Trivulzio* for the *Italians*, *Giovio*.

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A. D.

1504.

IT was agreed, on the First Day of the Year 1504, that *Gaeta* and its Castle should be surrendered to *Gonsalvo*, the Garrison having free Liberty to remove themselves and their Effects, either by Sea or Land, out of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that *Aubigni*, and the other Prisoners on both Sides, should be set at Liberty. But this Article was not so clearly expressed, but that it gave occasion to *Gonsalvo* to question whether it was intended that, by Virtue of this Convention the Barons of the Kingdom of *Naples* were to be released. *

Articles
of the
Surrender.

SUCH was the Defeat of the Army of the *French* King at the *Garigliano*, on whose Banks it had encamped Fifty Days, which was owing no less to their own disorderly Management, than to the Valour of their Enemies; a Defeat highly worthy to be remembered, because it was followed by the entire Loss of so noble

T 3

and

* These Barons were *Andrea Matteo*, *Acquaviva*, and *Onorato* and *Alfonso Sanseverini*, who were confined in the Dungeon of a Tower, called the *Military Ditch* in *Casal Nuovo*. *Giovio*.

A. D. 1504. and potent a Kingdom, and by the Establishment of the Dominion of the *Spaniards*; and yet more memorable for the great Superiority of the *French* at the Beginning, and their plentiful Supply of all Kinds of Provisions both by Sea and Land, which are required for a War. And moreover because they were subdued with so great Facility, without the Blood or Hazard of their Conquerors; and besides, tho' but few of them died by the Sword of their Enemies, yet, from various Accidents, a very small Number of so mighty an Army escaped; it being well known, that of the Foot who saved themselves by Flight, and also of those, who by the Capitulation were allowed to retire from *Gaeta* by Land, part died on the Road, perishing with the Cold and Infirmities; and such of them as reached as far as *Rome*, lived, for the most part, in a naked and miserable Condition; many died in the Hospitals, and many perished in the Night with Cold and Hunger, in the Streets and open Places. And, whatever might be the Cause, whether it were the Malignity of For-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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Fortune, which shewed itself equally
averse to the *French* Nobles and common
Soldiers, or to the Distemper contracted by
the Inconveniences suffered in and about
the *Garigliano*, many of those, who after
the Capitulation went off by Sea from
Gaeta, where they left the best part of
their Horses, died either in the Voyage,
or as soon as they arrived in *France*,
among whom were the Marquis of *Sa-
luzzo*, *Sandricourt*, and the Bailiff de la
Montagne, and many other Gentlemen of
great Note *. It was also taken into
Consideration, what might be imputed to
the Disagreement and ill Conduct of the
French Generals, and to the Severity of
the Season; and that the Minds of the
French and *Swiss* were not so well qualified
to endure Delay, and support the Tedi-
ousness of a lingering State of Things,
as well as their Bodies not so well tem-
pered to undergo Inconveniences and Fa-
tigue, as those of the *Spaniards*. Two
Things chiefly contributed to the Defeat

T 4

of

* The Marquis of *Saluzzo*, *Quercetays*, died and was
buried at *Genoa*; *Sandricourt* was taken ill on the other
Side of the *Alps*, and voluntarily hastened his own Death.
Rosfor lost his Senses, and died mad.

A. D.
1504.

Causes of
the Ruin
of the
French
Army.

of the *French*. The first was the long Stay of their Army in the Territory of *Rome*, on occasion of the Pope's Death; which was the Cause that they were overtaken by the Winter; and gave time for *Gonsalvo* to take into his Service the *Orsini*, before the *French* had entered the Kingdom of *Naples*. Whereas, had they entered upon Action while the Season favoured, it is not to be doubted but that *Gonsalvo*, who was at that time much inferior in Force, and not favoured by the Severity of the Weather, must have abandoned the greatest Part of the Kingdom, and retired into a few fortified Places. The other Cause was the Avarice of the King's Commissioners, in defrauding their Master in the Pay of the Soldiers, and, with the same covetous Design, distributing the Provisions in a scanty and irregular Manner, which did not a little contribute to the Diminution of the Army. For the King had, with the utmost Care, provided all things necessary in such a Measure, that we are assured that, at the Time of the Defeat, there were in *Rome*, by his Majesty's Order,

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Order, lodged great Sums of Money, ^{A. D. 1504} and a large Magazine of Provisions. And tho' at last, after abundance of Complaints from the General Officers, and from the whole Army, there was a more plentiful Distribution of Victuals, yet there was such a Scarcity before, that this Inconvenience, in conjunction with other Grievances, was the Cause of such great Infirmities, and why so many left the Army, or dispersed themselves in the circumjacent Places, from whence, at last, proceeded a total Ruin. For as; with respect to the Sustenance of a Body, it is not sufficient that the Head only be in right Order, but it is necessary also that the other Members perform their Office; so it is not enough that the Prince be without Blame in his Administration, if his Ministers neglect to discharge their Duty with a proportionable Degree of Care and Honesty *.

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* So it fared with King *Francis* before *Pavia*, as *Giovio* tells us in his *Life of Pescara*. But those Treasurers of the King, who, as he informs us in the *Life of Gaspar*, were *Corcutier*, and the Bailiff of *Cadomo*, were degraded, declared infamous, and beheaded.

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1504.

Peace be-
tween Ba-
jazet and
the Venetians.

IN this same Year, while these remarkable Events happened in *Italy*, a Peace was concluded between the Ottoman Emperor *Bajazet*, and the *Venetians*; very much at the Desire of both Parties *. For *Bajazet* was a Prince of a mild Disposition, quite different from the Fierceness of his Father, and addicted to Learning and the Study of the sacred Books of his Religion. His natural Genius was utterly averse to Arms, for tho' he had commenced a War, with a very powerful Apparatus, both by Sea and Land, and in the two first Years of its Progress, had, in the *Morocco*, taken *Naupatto* (now called *Lepanto*) *Madone*, *Corone*, and *Grunce*, he did not prosecute it with the same Ardor, being restrained not only by his natural Love of Quiet, but perhaps also by his Apprehensions that the Christian Princes, from a Concern for their own Safety, or out of Love to their Religion, should enter into a Confederacy against

* This Peace was first solicited by the *Turk*, and *Zaccaria Erizzo*, Secretary of the Council of Ten, was employed in the Negotiation. *Bande.*

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against him. For Pope *Alexander* had ordered some light Gallies to the Assistance of the *Venetians*, and, in conjunction with them, had assisted *Uladislaus*, King of *Bohemia* and of *Hungary*, with a Sum of Money, to enable him to begin a War on the Borders of *Turky*. And the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had each of them, tho' not at the same time, sent their Fleets to join that of the *Venetians*. But more heartily welcome and acceptable was this Peace to the *Venetians*, on account of the Interruption of their mercantile Commerce in many Parts of the *Levant*, by the War, to their very great Damage, both public and private; and also because the City of *Venice*, which uses to import vast Quantities of Corn from the Towns subject to the *Turks*, would have found it very inconvenient to be deprived of that Commodity; but much more still because in their Wars with other Princes being accustomed to make some Addition to their Dominions, they dreaded nothing more than the Power of the *Ottomans*, by whom they were constantly overmatched. For *Amu-*

A. D.
1504.

rat,

A. D. ^{1504.} *rat*, the Grandfather of *Bajazet*, had taken the City of *Tessalonica*, now called *Salonicbi*, which belonged to the *Venetians*; and afterwards *Mabomet* his Father had, in a War that lasted Sixteen Years, taken from them the Island of *Negropont*, a great Part of *Peloponeſo*, now called the *Morea*, *Scudri*, and many other Towns in *Macedonia* and *Albania*. Hence they never maintained a War againſt the *Turks* but with extreme Difficulty, and at a vaſt Expence, and without any Hopes of Advantage. Beſides, as their Fears were ſo much the greater of being attacked at the ſame time by ſome Chriſtian Princes, they were always very deſirous of being in Peace with the *Ottomans*. By the Conditions of this Treaty *Bajazet* was to keep poſſeſſion of what he had conquered, and the *Venetians* were to retain the Iſle of *Ceſalonia*, antiently called *Leucade*, but obliged to yield up the Iſland of *Nerito*, in modern Denomination *Santa Maura*.

BUT the Trouble and Concern of the *Venetians* in this *Turkiſh* War were not

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so great as the Molestation and Damages they sustained by the Interception of their Spicery Trade by the King of *Portugal*. The Mart for Spices was *Alexandria*, a very famous City of *Egypt*, whence they were exported in *Venetian* Bottoms to the City of *Venice*, and thence dispersed over all the Nations of Christendom, with vast Profit to the Merchants. What gave occasion to this Alteration being one of the most remarkable Events that has happened in the World for many Ages, and having, by the Loss which the *Venetians* sustained by it, some Connexion with the Affairs of *Italy*, it will not be altogether foreign to the Purpose to be somewhat prolix in our Relation.

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THOSE who were of a speculative Genius, and had considered the admirable Structure and Motions of the Heavens, have taught Posterity to imagine, from their globular Form, a Line drawn from East to West, equidistant in all Points from the Northern and Southern Poles; and called it the Equinoctial, because when the Sun is under it the Days and
Nights

A. D. Nights are equal. The Length of this
 1504. Line they divided, in their Imagination,
 into 360 Parts, which they called
 Degrees; and in like manner is a
 Circle that passes through the Poles di-
 vided into 360 Degrees. According to
 this Rule of theirs, our Cosmographers
 have measured and divided the Earth,
 and imagined an Equinoctial Line on the
 Earth, which falls perpendicularly under
 the celestial Line figured by Astronomers,
 and have divided it in like manner, to-
 gether with the Circuit of the Earth, mea-
 sured by a Line falling perpendicularly
 under the Poles, into 360 Degrees of
 Latitude; so that from our Pole to the
 southern Pole they estimate 180 Degrees,
 and from either of the Poles to the Equi-
 noctial Line is a Distance of 90 Degrees.
 These are the general Principles established
 by Cosmographers; but as to Particulars
 relating to the habitable Parts of the Earth,
 after delivering down to us their Notions
 of

* By falling perpendicularly under our Author means
 the same as to say, that these terrestrial Lines are in the
 same Plane with the celestial of the same Denomination,
 or that a Perpendicular will pass through both these
 Centers.

of that Part which lies under our Hemisphere, they had persuaded themselves, that that Part of the Earth which lies under the torrid Zone represented in the Heavens by Astronomers, and containing within it the Equinoctial, as being nearest the Sun, is, by reason of its Heat, uninhabitable; and that from our Hemisphere it was impossible to proceed to the Countries under the torrid Zone, or to those which lie beyond it towards the Southern Pole, which *Ptolemy*, who is universally acknowledged to be the Prince of Cosmographers, called Lands and Seas unknown. Hence that Author and others presupposed, that if a Person had a Mind to pass from our Hemisphere to the *Arabian* and *Persian* Gulphs, or to that Part of *India* which the Victories of *Alexander* first discovered to the *Europeans*, he must be obliged to go thither by Land, or after approaching thither as far as possible, by sailing up the *Mediterranean* Sea, to perform the rest of the Journey by Land.

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Navigation
and
Discoveries
of the
Portu-
guese.

THE Falsity of these Opinions and Suppositions has been demonstrated in our Times by the Navigation of the *Portuguese*, who had begun, many Years ago, under the Kings of *Portugal*, from a Desire of mercantile Gain, to coast it along the Shores of *Africa*, till by little and little they proceeded as far as the Isles of *Cape Verde*, called by the Antients, as many are of opinion, the *Hesperides*, distant 14 Degrees from the Equinoctial Line towards the North Pole. Their Boldness still increasing, they ventured farther and farther, till after fetching a long Compass, they arrived at length at the *Cape of Good Hope* in South Latitude. This Promontory is the most distant of any Part of *Africa* from the Equinoctial Line, being removed from it 38 Degrees. From this Cape they stretched away to the East as far as the *Arabian* and *Persian* Gulfs, in which Places the Merchants of *Alexandria* used to purchase their Spices, which were partly of the Growth of the Country, but the greater Part of them was brought from the *Molucca* Islands, and some

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some from *India*, and afterwards conveyed A. D.
1504. by Land through a long and very inconvenient Road, at a great Expence, to *Alexandria*. There they were bought up by the *Venetian* Merchants, who exported them to *Venice*, from whence they supplied all Christendom with Spices, to their immense Profit. For having monopolized that Commodity, they set what Price they pleased on it; and in the same Ships that exported it from *Alexandria* they carried thither great Quantities of mercantile Goods; and their Vessels which carried these Spices into *France*, *Flanders*, *England*, and other Places, returned with Ladings of other Merchandise to *Venice*; which Way of trafficking at the same time greatly increased the Revenues of the Republic, by the Duties and Customs.

BUT the *Portuguese* sailing from *Lisbon*, the Seat of the King of *Portugal*, into these remote Parts, contracted Acquaintance and Friendship with the Kings of *Calicut*, and other neighbouring Towns in the *Indian* Sea; and afterwards, by degrees, penetrating into the most remote
VOL. III. U Places,

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1504

The
Spicery
Trade
transferred to the
*Portu-
guese.*

Places, in process of Time erected Fortresses in convenient Situations, and entering into Alliances with some Cities of the Country, subjected others by Force of Arms. By virtue of these Discoveries and Settlements, they transferred the Spice Trade, which used to be managed in *Alexandria*, into their own Hands, first conveying the Spices by Sea to *Portugal*, and afterwards exporting that rich Commodity to the same Countries, which had before been supplied with it by the *Venetians*. A Navigation truly wonderful for the Space of Sixteen Thousand Miles, through Seas wholly unknown, under other Stars, and other Heavens, and with other Instruments; for after passing the Equinoctial Line they are no longer guided by the Pole Star, and remain deprived of the Use of the Magnet; and they have no Place to put in for Shelter or Refreshments in so long a Voyage, but on the unknown Coasts of Lands inhabited by hostile Barbarians of strange Language, Religion, and Manners. But yet, in spite of all these Difficulties, this Navigation is by length of Time become so familiar, that the

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the same Voyage which formerly required ^{A. D.} Ten Months, is now performed with less ^{1504.} Danger in Six.

BUT yet more astonishing was the Navigation of the *Spaniards*, which commenced in the Year 1490 *, for the Discoveries of *Christopher Columbus* a *Genoesè*. That Gentleman had made several Voyages on the Ocean, and conjecturing, from his Observations on certain Winds, what afterwards appeared to be Truth, he obtained of the *Spanish* Monarchs some Ships, with which he sailed Westwards, and at the End of 33 Days discovered in the utmost Extremity of our Hemisphere certain Islands, of which none had the least Notice before; they were situated in a happy Climate, were of a fertile Soil;

Discovery
of *America*.

U 2 and

* This Navigation of *Columbus* did not commence precisely in the Year 1500, but two Years after, as appears from a Multitude of Authors who have writ expressly of it, and from what is published under the Name of *Columbus*, where he says, that he set sail from the Coasts of *Spain* on Sept. 1, 1492. But our Author takes his Beginning from the first happy Success of the Catholic Monarchs in Navigation, which was in the Year 1493, when, by the Assistance of King *Ferdinand*, the *Fortunate Islands* (now the *Canaries*) were first discovered.

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and the Inhabitants, except some Tribes of Savages, who fed on human Flesh, were in general of great Simplicity of Manners, and contented with what the Bounty of Nature afforded them; were never tormented with Ambition or Avarice, but deserved Compassion in that they had no established Religion, no Notion of Learning, or Skill in mechanic Arts, were unpractised in Arms and the Art of War, and knew nothing by Speculation or Experience; in short, they were a kind of tame Animals, and ready to fall a very easy Prey to any Invader. The *Spaniards*, afterwards allured by the Facility of seizing the Country, and the Richness of it, for there had been discovered very rich Veins of Gold, soon transported themselves thither in great Numbers, and settled as in their own proper Habitations.

COLUMBUS pushed his Discoveries much farther, as did after him *Americus Vespucius* *, a *Florentine*; and many others

He wrote his four Voyages, two of which he made by Order of *Ferdinand King of Castile* towards the West,

others successively discovered other Islands, and very large Tracts of Land on the Continent, and in some few Parts of them the Marks of an established System of Customs and civil Polity; for the Inhabitants had public and private Edifices, were well cloathed, and affable in their Conversation; but all of them, in general, knew not the Use of Arms, and were easy to become a Prey. But this vast Extent of Land, which, without comparison, exceeds all that was known to be inhabited, the *Spaniards* have peopled with a new Race of People, transported thither by their frequent Navigations; and sometimes by digging Gold and Silver from Veins, which are to be found in many Places, or clearing them from the Sands of Rivers, or procuring them of the Inhabitants in Exchange for Toys of very small Value, and sometimes by robbing the Places where they were repositied, an infinite Quantity of those precious Metals has been imported into *Spain*

U 3

by

West, and begun *May 20, 1497*; the other two under a Commission from *Emanuel King of Portugal*, towards the South, *May 1, 1501*.

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1504.

by private Adventurers, tho' with the King's Licence, at their own Charges, every one paying his Majesty a fifth Part of what he got possessed of, by digging in the Mines, or by any other Means. Nay, the Boldness of the *Spaniards* has carried them yet much farther, for some Ships of theirs having stretched along the Coast of the Continent towards the Southern Pole, to the Latitude of 53 Degrees South, afterwards entered into a narrow Sea, which opened them a Passage into a vast Ocean, through which they sailed to the East Indies, and thence returned home by the same Course which the *Portuguese* take in their Eastern Voyages, having, as it appears with the highest Degree of Certainty, fetched a Compass round the Globe of the Earth, Worthy, indeed, are those *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, and particularly *Columbus*, the first Undertaker of this wonderful and most dangerous Navigation, to be celebrated with eternal Praises, for their Skill and Industry, for their Boldness, Vigilance, and Hardiness, which have enlightened our Age with the Knowledge of such

The
Earth
encom-
passed.

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such great and marvellous Things, that *A. D.*
were hitherto buried in Obscurity. But *1504.*

yet more worthy would they be to be celebrated for their Undertaking, had they not been induced to undergo such great Perils and Fatigues by an immoderate Thirst after Gold and Riches, but by a Desire to improve themselves or others in Knowledge, or to propagate the Christian Faith, tho' these Ends were in some measure answered by their Discoveries, the Natives in many Places being converted to our Religion. By these Navigations it is manifest, that the Antients were mistaken in many Things relating to the Knowledge of the Earth. For the Equinoctial Line has been passed, the torrid Zone found habitable, as well as the Zones next the Poles, contrary to their Opinion, who held that these Polar Zones were not habitable because of their immoderate Cold, on account of their Situation, with respect to the Heavens; so remote from the Course of the Sun.

Antients mistaken in their Notions of the Earth.

These Navigators have made plain what some of the Antients believed, others rejected, that there are Inhabitants on our

U 4

Globe

A. D. 1504. Globe who have their Feet opposite to ours, and are called *Antipodes*.

French
mortified
at their
Defeat.

BUT to resume our History, we shall proceed to a Narration of Transactions that succeeded the Surrender of *Gaeta* to the *Spaniards* in 1504. * The News of the Defeat at the *Garigliano*, and of its calamitous Consequences, filled almost the whole Kingdom of *France* with Tears and Lamentations for the Multitude of the Dead, and especially for the Loss of so many of the Nobility, so that the whole Court appeared full of Sadness and Affliction in their Dress, and in many other Marks of Grief; nothing was heard throughout the Kingdom but the Voices of Men and Women cursing the Day in which it first entered into the Heads of their Kings, not contented with so great an Empire as they had in possession, unfortunately to covet the Acquisition of new States in *Italy*. But no Sorrow could equal that of the King from his Despair of ever recovering so fine a Kingdom, and so

* He had before told us, that *Gaeta* surrendered the First Day of the Year 1504.

so great a Diminution of his Reputation and Authority. Now he remembered the

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1504.

magnific Speeches he had so often thrown out against the King of *Spain*, and what mighty Matters he had vainly promised himself from his Preparations to attack him on so many Quarters. And it augmented his Grief and Indignation to consider, that after he had made such ample Provisions, with all imaginable Care and Diligence, without the least Intermission, and had to deal with Enemies who were very poor, and in want of all things, he had been shamefully overthrown and beaten out of the Field through the avaricious and fraudulent Practices of his Ministers. This set him on making Exclamations to the Heavens, protesting, with the most solemn Oaths, that since he was served by his own People with such Negligence and Perfidiousness, he would, for the future, never entrust the Management of a War in the Hands of his Generals, but go himself in Person at the Head of his Army on every Enterprise. But what vexed and tormented his Mind to the highest Degree, was his knowing

A. D.

1504.

knowing that by the Loss of such an Army, and the Death of so many Generals, and such a Number of the Nobility, his Forces were so weakened, that if *Maximilian* should excite any Commotion in the Dutchy of *Milan*, or if the *Spanish* Army should march out of the Kingdom of *Naples* in pursuit of their Victory, he very much doubted whether he should be able to preserve that State, especially if *Ascanio Sforza*, whose Government was ardently desired by all Ranks of People; should join either of these Sovereigns. As for the King of the *Romans*, no one indeed wondered that he should let slip so fair an Opportunity, it being his old Custom seldom or never to take Advantage of Times and Occasions. But every one had persuaded himself to the contrary of *Gonsalvo*, of whom the Partisans of *France* in *Italy* stood under the greatest Apprehensions, lest that General, in confidence of his SuperiORITY, and knowing that a victorious Army could never want Money nor Opportunities, should speedily march in pursuit of his Victory, in order to subvert the Government of *Milan*,
and

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and in his Way thither change the System of public Affairs in *Tuscany*. Had he taken this Step, it was generally believed, that the King of *France*, exhausted of Money, and desponding in Mind, would have yielded without Resistance to the Fury of so great a Storm ; especially since the Inclinations of his Soldiers were utterly averse to going into *Italy*, and those who had returned from *Gaeta*, and passed the Mountains, despised the King's Orders, which were delivered to them at *Genoa*. And it plainly appeared that the King had laid aside all Thoughts of War, was wholly intent on a Treaty of Peace with *Maximilian*, and no less desirous of continuing his Negotiations with the King of *Spain*, which suffered no Intermiſſion during the Heat of the War, the *Spanish* Ambassadors at that Time, and now at present, attending his Court.

BUT *Gonsalvo*, whom we shall hereafter mention oftner by the Name of the *Great Captain*, a Name at first given him out of a *Spanish* Bravado, but afterwards universally confirmed on account of his

Gonsalvo
acquires
the Name
of *Great*
Captain.
glo-

A. D.

1504.

glorious Victories, made no Use of so fair an Opportunity, either because finding himself quite bare of Money, and deep in Arrears to his Army, it was impossible for him to make them march in Expectation of future Gains *, or distant Payments, the Soldiers demanding their Money, and to be put into Quarters; or because he was necessitated to act in obedience to the Orders of his Sovereigns; or, lastly, because he did not think it safe to march his Army out of the Kingdom of Naples, before he had cleared the Country of all his Enemies. For *Lewis d'Ar*, one of the *French* Generals, after the Defeat at *Cirignuola*, had retired with the shattered Remains of the Army, which were not to be despised, into *Venosa*, and during the Encampments of the Armies on the Banks of the *Garigliano*, had taken Possession of *Troja* and *San Severino*, and kept all *Puglia* in Arms; and some Barons of the *Anjouin* Party had retired upon their Estates, and stood upon the Defensive, openly avowing their Attachment to the King of *France*. To all these Reasons

it

* By Plunder, or raising Contributions.

it may be added, that soon after the Vic- A. D.
1504.
tory, the Great Captain fell ill of a dan-
gerous Disorder, which disabling him from
going upon any Expedition in Person, he
sent *Alviano* with Part of the Army to
subdue *Lewis d'Ars*.

By *Gonsalvo's* Resolution, or Necessi-
ty, not to pursue for the present his Vic-
tory out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the
Affairs of *Italy* were kept in Suspense ra-
ther than in Action. For the *Venetians*,
according to Custom, stood on their
Watch, expecting the Events of Things.
The *Florentines* seemed to acquiesce, and
be well enough contented, that at a Time
when they despaired of receiving any
Succours from the King of *France*, the
Great Captain did not invade their Domi-
nions. The Pontiff deferring the Execu-
tion of his vast Projects till another Time;
used all his Endeavours to get *Valentino* to
yield up to him the Fortresses of *Forli*,
Cesena, and *Bertinoro*, which was all that
remained to the Duke in *Romagna*; for
Antonio de gli Ordelaffi had a few Days
before got Possession of the Fortress of
For-

D. A. *Forlimpopoli*, by bribing the Governor.

1504.

Valentino was drawn in at last to give his Consent to assign over to the Pontiff the Fortrefs of *Cefena*; but *Pietro Doviedo*, a *Spaniard*, who went with the Assignment to receive that Place in the Name of his Holiness, was hanged by the Governor, who said it would be a Disgrace to him to obey his Master while he was a Prisoner, and therefore he who presumed to request it of him deserved to be punished. The Pontiff therefore losing all Hopes of getting the Fortreffes into his Hands, without setting *Valentino* at Liberty, came to an Agreement with him, of which for the better Security a Bill was expedited in Consistory. By this Agreement it was ordered that *Valentino* should be committed to the Castle of *Ostia*, and remained in the absolute Power of *Bernardino Carvagial*, a *Spaniard*, and Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who was to set him at Liberty whenever he should restore to the Pope the Fortreffes of *Cefena* and *Bertinoro*, and assign over to his Holiness the Castle of *Furli*, and give Security on the Bank of *Rome* for Fifteen Thousand Ducats; for the Governor

Pope agrees with
Valentino.

ror of *Farli* had promised to deliver it up on receipt of the Assignment of the afore-said Sum, which was to indemnify him for the Costs he pretended he had been at.

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BUT the Pope had other Designs ; for tho' he would not openly break his plighted Faith, he had it in his Thoughts to prolong *Valentino's* Delivery, either out of Fear that, when he was set at Liberty, he would find Means that the Governor of *Farli* should refuse to surrender the Castle, or because he remembered the Injuries he had received from him and his Father, or to gratify the Hatred of the Public, which the Duke had deservedly incurred. *Valentino* suspecting the Pope's Design, secretly solicited the Great Captain to grant him a Pass for his free Passage to *Naples*, and to send Two Gallies to carry him off from *Ostia*. His Requests being granted by *Gonsalvo*, the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who had the same Suspicion as *Valentino*, as soon as he had Notice that, besides the Security given in *Rome* for the Fifteen Thousand Ducats, the Governors of *Cesena* and *Bertinoro* had delivered up these

For

A. D.

1504.

Fortresses, gave the Duke Liberty to depart without the Knowledge of the Pope. Then *Valentino*, without waiting the Arrival of the Gallies, which the Great Captain was to send him, went privately by Land to *Nettuno*, from whence he sailed in a small Bark to the Castle of *Mon-dragone*, and from thence travelled by Land to *Naples*, where he was joyfully received by *Gonsalvo* with great Marks of Honour. In *Naples* he often held secret Consultations with *Gonsalvo*, and solicited him to fit him out for a Voyage to *Pisa*, proposing to him the mighty Advantages that would result to the Affairs of his Sovereigns from his Settlement in that City*. *Gonsalvo* seemed to approve his Project, offered him Gallies for his Convoy, and gave him Leave to raise in the Kingdom what Foot Soldiers he thought necessary to carry with him. He flattered the Duke with these Hopes, and delayed the Time till he had received an Answer from

* It appears that *Valentino's* Designs were not so bent on *Pisa*, as to pass through the Territory of *Lucca*, and to pass the *Apennines* by the *Carfagnano*, and by the Way of *Modena* get into *Romagna*, amongst his old Friends. *Giovio*.

from his Sovereigns, conformable to what he intended to do with him, consulting him every Day about the Affairs of *Pisa* and *Tuscany*, *Alviano* offering at the same time to attack the *Florentines*, out of a longing Desire to restore the *Medici* to *Florence*. The Gallies and Forces being in Readiness for their Departure the next Day, *Valentino* had a long Conference in the Evening with *Gonsalvo*, who entertained him with great Demonstrations of Love, and embraced him at parting, proceeding with the same Diffimulation which old *Ferdinando* of *Aragon* is said to have used towards *Jacopo Piccinino*. As soon as the Duke came out of the Chamber, he was by his Orders arrested, and detained in the Castle; at the same time Directions were given to search the Apartment where he lodged, and to bring away the Pass which he had received before he departed from *Ostia*. The Great Captain alledged that he had Orders from his Sovereigns to make him a Prisoner; that their Commands were of more Force than his Pass, because a Security granted by the private Authority of a Minister was of no

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1504.

Valentino
arrested,
and sent
Prisoner
to Spain.

4. D.

1504.

Validity, unless it was in Conformity to the Will of his Master *. To this Reason he added, that it was a Point of Necessity to confine him, because, not contented with those great and manifold Enormities he had been guilty of in Times past, he was seeking Occasions to make Alterations in Governments for the Time to come, devising Novelties, loving Discord, propagating Scandal, and acting the Part of an Incendiary, in raising new Commotions, and destroying the Peace of *Italy*. Soon after he was ordered to be put on board of a light Galley, and sent Prisoner to *Spain*, attended by none of his Servants, except one Page, and there confined in the Castle of *Medina del Campo*.

ABOUT the same Time the King of *France* and the Sovereigns of *Spain* concluded a Truce both for Land and Sea, *Italy*, as well as the Parts beyond the Mountains, being included. This Truce was heartily desired by the King of *France*, and

Truce between
France
and *Spain*.

* *Giovio* very well vindicates *Gonsalvo* from the Charge of breaking his Faith, and shews that the first Author of the Imprisonment of *Valentina*, was the Pope, for his own Security, as well as that of all *Italy*.

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and readily embraced by the *Spanish* Sovereigns ; for they judged it better to establish their new Acquisitions in Safety and Tranquillity by peaceable Means, than by a Renewal of Wars, which are full of Trouble and Expence, and often deceive our Hopes in the End.

THE Conditions of the Truce were, Articles of the Truce.
That each Party should keep what was at present in their Possession ; that mutual Commerce should be free throughout their respective Kingdoms and States, except in the Kingdom of *Naples*. By this Exception the Great Captain obtained in an indirect Way what was directly forbidden him ; For on the Frontiers of the Places held by the *French*, which were only *Rossano* in *Calabria*, *Oira* in the Territory of *Otranto*, and *Venosa*, *Conversano*, and *Castel del Monte* in *Puglia*, he posted Troops, which prevented all Communication between the Soldiers and Inhabitants of those Towns, and the Places in the Possession of the *Spaniards*. By this means the *French* were soon reduced to such Straits, that *Lewis d'Ars*, and the other Soldiers and

X 2

Barons

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Barons of these Towns finding that the Inhabitants, unable to support themselves under such pressing Difficulties, were determined to yield themselves up to the *Spaniards*, quitted the Places, and retired out of those Territories *.

Spanish
Soldiers
disorder-
ly.

BUT the Kingdom of *Naples*, tho' the Enemies were every where routed and dispersed, did not enjoy the Fruits of Peace. For the *Spanish* Soldiers, who were more than a Year in Arrears, not content with the free Quarters provided for them by the Great Captain in different Towns for their Subsistence, till he could be provided with Money, behaved very indiscreetly, and in an arbitrary Manner with the Inhabitants, to which they pretended a Right, which the Soldiers call Quartering at Discretion, till they grew so audacious, that at length they lost all Obedience to Order and Discipline, and, to the high Displeasure and Mortification of the Great Captain, seized on *Capua* and *Caf-*

* By the Treaty *Gonsalvo* was directly forbidden to take these Towns in an hostile Manner, but, by the Exception of Commerce, he obtained them in an indirect Way.

Castello a Mare, which they refused to evacuate, before they were paid their whole Arrears. These long Arrears amounting to a vast Sum of Money, it was impossible to pay them off, without excessively burthening with Taxes the Kingdom, which was already drained and exhausted by the long Wars. Miserable was the Condition of the People, for the Remedy was far worse than the Disease, the Case being the more deplorable, as it was new, and without a Precedent. For tho' ever since the Times of Antiquity, in which military Discipline was severely exercised, the Soldiery had been always licentious, and burthensome to the People, yet they never gave themselves a Loose to all Manner of Disorders, but lived, for the most part, upon their Pay; and their Licentiousness was restrained within tolerable Bounds. But the *Spaniards* were the first in *Italy* that presumed to maintain themselves wholly on the Substance of the People, to which Degree of Licentiousness they were moved, and perhaps necessitated, because, through the Inability of their Sovereigns, they were

A. D.
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1504

but badly paid. This was the Beginning of a Corruption which soon spread: For the Imitation of a bad Example always exceeds the Original; whereas, on the contrary, the Imitation of a good one falls short of it. Thus afterward these same *Spaniards*, and the *Italians*, as well as they, paid or not paid, committed the same Disorders, in such a Manner, that, to the utter Scandal of modern military Discipline, the Goods of Friends and Foes are now alike exposed to the villainous Rapine of the Soldiers.

Pope gets Possession of *Imola* and *Forli*.

THE Truce between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, with the Opinion that it would be soon followed by a Peace, and in some measure the Captivity of *Valentino*, entirely settled the Affairs of *Romagna*. For first *Imola* was delivered into the Hands of the Pope by the free Will of the principal Citizens, and with the Consent of the Cardinal of *St. Giorgio*, whom the Pontiff had soothed with vain Hopes of restoring it to his Nephews. And about the same time *Forli*, by the Death of *Antonio de gli Ordelaffi*, being taken into Possession

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session by *Lodovico*, his natural Brother, A. D. 1504.
 would have fallen into the Hands of the *Venetians*, to whom *Lodovico*, knowing himself
 unable to keep it, had offered it, had they
 not been deterred by the present Situation
 of Affairs from accepting it. For they were
 not willing to increase the Indignation of
 the Pope, who, finding no Resistance, took
 Possession of the Town, *Lodovico* being
 run away; and, on the Payment of Fifteen
 Thousand Ducats, had the Citadel also put
 into his Hands. The Governor of that
 Fortrefs, a faithful Servant to *Valentino*,
 could not be induced to surrender it, be-
 fore he had certain Information, from pro-
 per Persons dispatched to *Naples* for that
 Purpose, of the Imprisonment of his
 Master.

Thus had the Wars ceased in all Parts Floren-
 of *Italy*, except *Tuscany*, where the *Flo-* tines re-
rentines; in the Beginning of the Summer, new the
 according to Custom, took the Field a- War a-
 gainst the *Pisans*. The Government of gainst the
Florence had newly listed into their Service Pisans.
Gian Pagolo Buglione, with some Captains
 of Men at Arms of the Families of the

X 4

Colonnas,

A. D. *Colonnas*, and the *Savelli*, and assembled a

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stronger Body of Forces than usual, which had Orders to destroy the Corn, and other Produce of the Country of *Pisa*. The *Florentines* were the more encouraged, because they were in no Fear of being disturbed by the *Spaniards*, not only on account of the *Pisans* not being mentioned by the Sovereigns of *Spain* in the Truce, which gave Liberty to each Party to nominate their Adherents, but because the Great Captain, after his Victory over the *French*, tho' at first he had put the *Pisans* in great Hopes, had proceeded in mild Terms with the *Florentines*, imagining, perhaps, that, by such artful Dealing, he might separate them from the King of *France*. And tho' he had afterward lost all Hope of that Kind, yet he did not think fit by Provocations to give them Cause to precipitate themselves into all the Measures of the Court of *France*. He therefore, by means of *Prospero Colonna*, tho' only by Word of Mouth, entered into a Sort of tacit Intelligence with them, proposing, that if the King of *France* should happen to make a new Attack on the

the Kingdom of *Naples*, the *Florentines* should give him no Assistance ; and, on the other Part, that he should lend no Succours to the *Pisans*, unless the *Florentines* sent an Army with a Train of Artillery to besiege the City of *Pisa*, which he was not willing they should recover while they were in Alliance with *France*. The *Florentine* Army not only laid waste those Parts of the Country of *Pisa*, which had suffered in the preceding Years, but now spread the same Desolation over *San Rossore* and *Barbericina*, and after that over *Valdiserchio* and *Valdisoli*, Places in the Neighbourhood of the *Pisan*, which, when their Force was not so strong, they could not enter without Danger. After these Ravages, they laid Siege to *Librafatta*, the small Garrison of which was obliged to surrender in a few Days at Discretion. And it was not doubted but that the *Pisans* would this Year have been constrained by Famine to receive the Yoke of the *Florentines*, if they had not been sustained by their Neighbours, especially by the *Genoese*, and *Lucchese* * ; as for

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1504.

Librafatta surrendered to the *Florentines*.

* On this account *Antonio Giacomini*, the *Florentine* General,

A. D. for *Pandolfo Petrucci*, he was very ready in

1504.

putting others forward, and very liberal of his Promises to contribute towards the Expences, but was very slow in his Performances. With the Money of these States, *Rinieri della Sassetta*, who was a Soldier of the Great Captain, by his Permission, taking with him some other Officers, transported by Sea Two Hundred Horse to *Pisa*, and the *Genoese* had ordered thither a Commander with a Thousand Foot. Besides these Supplies, one *Bardella* of *Porto Venere*, a famous Corsair in the *Tuscan* Seas, in the Pay of the aforementioned States, under the Title of Captain of the *Pisans*, with a Galleon, and some Brigantines, continually furnished them with Victuals. Hence the *Florentines* finding it necessary, besides the Damage done by Land; to deprive them of the Use and Advantage of the Sea, hired three light Gallies of King *Federigo*, which

General, seeing that the *Pisans* were supported by the *Luchese*, made two Incursions with an Army into the Territory of *Lucca*, plundering and ruining all that came in his Way. The *Luchese* complaining to the King of *France*, and threatening to surrender themselves to the *Venetians*, the King, who was wholly addicted to the *Florentines*, took no notice of their Remonstrance.

which, were in *Provence*. At the Approach of these Ships under their Commodore ^{A.D. 1504,} *Don Diogo Riccajense*, to *Livorno*, *Bardella* sailed off, tho' at Times he still took the Opportunity of a favourable Wind to convey some Barks loaded with Victuals to the Mouth of the *Arno*, whence they easily entered the Port of *Pisa*. This City was at the same time greatly distressed by Land, for the *Florentine Army*, after the taking of *Librafatta*, was distributed in several Parts of the Country, to prevent the Tillage of the Ground for the ensuing Year, and to intercept all Convoys of Victuals from *Lucas*, or by Sea. Towards the End of the Summer they destroyed the Millet Seed, and other Sorts of Grain, which that Country produces in great abundance. The *Florentines* did not Vain Projects of the *Florentines* ways grudge their Expences, nor judge anything impossible that might give them Hopes of obtaining their End. For this Purpose they formed a new Project for annexing the *Pisani*, by turning the Course of the River *Arno*, which runs through their City, at the Tower of *Fagiana*, five Miles from *Pisa*, by working there

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there a new Channel, and carrying it into the standing Waters that lie between that City and *Livorno*. This would effectually deprive the *Pisans* of all Hopes of receiving any Succour by way of the Sea, or by the River *Arno*. For the Waters gathered by the Rains and Floods in the Country round about, being, by reason of its low Situation, incapable of opening themselves a Passage into the Sea, the City of *Pisa* would remain as it were in a Marsh, and the Difficulty of passing the *Arno* would for the future prevent the *Pisans* from running over the Hills, and interrupting the Communication between *Livorno* and *Florence*; and they would besides find it necessary to fortify those Openings where the River enters, and where it leaves the City, which otherwise would remain exposed to the Insults of the Enemy. But this Work, begun with mighty Hopes, and prosecuted at a much greater Expence, did not succeed; as indeed it generally happens in such Undertakings, which, tho' in Theory they seem plain to a Demonstration, yet prove fallacious in the Experiment; a most certain Proof that

that there is a wide Difference between ^{A. D.} designing a Thing and putting it in ^{1504.} Execution. Thus in the Case before us, besides many Difficulties, not at first considered, arising from the Course of the River, which, when they endeavoured to contract it, by its Weight sunk the Channel, it was also found, that the Bed of the Lake into which the Waters were to be discharged, contrary to the Assurances of many Engineers and Opinions of Persons skilful in Hydrostatics, was higher than the Bed of the *Arno*.

WITH this Disappointment, which might be expected from a too eager Desire of obtaining *Pisa*, Fortune also displayed her Malignity on the *Florentines*; for the Gallies which they had hired, and had ordered to *Villafranca*, to seize on a Ship of the *Pisans* laden with Corn, were on their Return drove ashore in a Storm off *Rapalle*, and it was with great Difficulty that the Commodore and Crew were saved.

BESIDES

A. D.

1504.

Florentines have recourse to fair Means.

BESIDES the rough Method of Compulsion by Force of Arms and Terror, the *Florentines*, to leave no Means untried, resolved to see what Effect an Act of Humanity and Grace would produce. For this Purpose they enacted a new Law, that whoever belonging to *Pisa*, whether Citizen or Peasant, should, within a certain Time, go and live upon his Estate, or in his House, should obtain a Pardon for all Offences, and have his Goods restored to him. Few, however, went out of *Pisa* with a sincere Intent of enjoying the Benefit of this Act, but many useless Hands had the Consent of the rest to quit the City, because their Departure at the same time relieved the Scarcity that was in the Town, and gave them an Opportunity of assisting with their Income those that staid in the Place, which they did in private. By this means the Necessities of the *Pisans* were in some measure relieved, tho' not so much but that they were still in great Distress, on account of their extreme Poverty and Want. But as they had nothing so much in

in abhorrence as the Name of the *Florentines*, tho' the Resolution of the Peasants seemed sometimes to stagger, they were determined to endure all Extremities before they would surrender.

WITH this Disposition they offered to give themselves up to the *Genoese*, with whom they had so often contended for Empire and for Life, and by whom their Power had formerly been humbled. This Step was proposed by the *Lucchese* and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who, in order to avoid the continual Trouble and Expence that lay upon them, were willing to put the *Genoese* under an Obligation to defend *Pisa*, and to induce them to accept of the Proposal, they offered to defray some Part of the Expences for Three Years. This Proposition, tho' it found many Opposers in *Genoa*, and from *Giovanni Luigi del Fiesco* in particular, yet was accepted by the City, and Instances were made to the King of *France*, without whose Consent they were not at Liberty to take such a Resolution, that he would grant them Permission to act accordingly; represent-
ing

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ing to his Majesty of what pernicious Consequence it must be, if the *Pisans*, excluded from this Hope, which was in a manner their last Resort, should throw themselves into the Arms of the King of *Spain*, in which Case, to the very great Prejudice of his Affairs, *Genoa* would be under continual Apprehensions and Danger, and almost all *Tuscany* would be under a Necessity of espousing the *Spanish* Party. These Reasons, at the beginning, had such Weight with the King, that he was inclined to yield to their Demand; but when it came afterwards to be considered in his Council, that if the *Genoese* were permitted to involve themselves in Wars, and in Confederacies with other Potentates, out of an ambitious Desire of increasing their Dominion, they would be continually raising their Thoughts to higher Matters, and in a little time shake off their Yoke, and assert their Liberty; he expressly forbid them to accept the Dominion of the *Pisans*, tho' he did not prohibit them, in spite of all the heavy Complaints of the *Florentines*, to continue to assist them.

A

A TREATY of Peace, between the King of *France* and the Sovereigns of *Spain*, was at the same time warmly negotiated. Their Catholic Majesties, in Diffimulation, proposed to restore to the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Federigo*, of his Son the Duke of *Calabria*, to whom the King of *France* was to make over his Right, and that the Duke should marry the Widow Queen, Niece of *Federigo*, who had been Wife to young *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*. It was not doubted, but that the King of *France*, who was now without any Prospect of recovering for himself that Kingdom, would have accepted of any Terms of Peace ; but there were two Difficulties in the proposed Expedient: One, tho' of less Moment, was, that he was ashamed to abandon those Barons who had followed his Party, and were deprived of their Estates, and had hard and difficult Conditions proposed to them ; the other, which gave him most Concern, was, that he doubted the *Spanish* Monarchs had, with their usual Arts, proposed this Restoration with some Design, and had

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other Reserves in their Breasts. He was apprehensive also that his Consent was not sufficient to make the thing take effect, but yet would alienate from him the Affections of the Archduke, who, coveting the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Son, insisted on the signing the Peace he had made at *Blois*. *Lewis* therefore gave his Answer in general Terms, that he was desirous of a Peace, but that it would be a Dishonour to him to yield up the Rights which he had in the Kingdom of *Naples* to an *Aragonian*. On the other hand, he continued his former Negotiations with the King of the *Romans* and with the Archduke, which he was almost certain of bringing to an Issue; and that they might not be interrupted by the dubious Negotiation with the *Spanish* Sovereigns, and, to give the greater Lustre to his Honour, professing that his chief Motive was the Difficulties relating to the Barons, he sent for the *Spanish* Ambassadors. Then, seated in his royal Chair of State, before the whole Court, with solemn Ceremonies, and such Formalities as are rarely used, he declared, that he was sorry that their

Catholic

Catholic Majesties had professed their Desire of Peace in Words, while nothing was farther from their Intentions; and therefore, since it was a Point unworthy of a King to consume Time in fruitless Negotiations, it was most convenient that they should depart out of the Kingdom of France.

AFTER the Departure of the Spaniards, arrived the Ambassadors of Maximilian and the Archduke, to give the finishing Hand to the Treaties under Negotiation. And because Matters of the highest Importance were proposed by the Parties concerned, the Bishop of Sigeron, the Pope's Nuntio in ordinary at the French Court, was admitted at the Conferences, in conjunction with the Marquis of Finale, who was deputed by the Pontiff on purpose for this Negotiation. The Treaty which had several times before been on the Carpet, and demonstrated to be highly advantageous to all the Princes concerned, was now easily brought to a Conclusion on the following Terms: That the Matrimony before negotiated between Claude,

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Spanish
Ambassadors
dismissed.

Treaty of
Peace be-
tween the
King of
France
and other
Powers.

Articles
of the
Treaty.

D. A. the Daughter of the King of *France*, and
 1504. *Charles*, the eldest Son of the Archduke
 of *Austria*, shall take effect; adding
 moreover, that, for the greater Corroboration,
 it shall be confirmed by the Oath,
 and under the Hand and Seal of the King
 of *France*, and of *Francis*, Count of
Angoulesme, next Heir to the Crown, in
 default of male Issue from the King, and
 of many other principal Lords of the
 Kingdom of *France*: That annulling,
 for just and good Reasons, all the Investitures
 of the State of *Milan* granted to
 this very Day, *Maximilian* shall confer
 that Investiture on the King of *France*,
 for himself, and for his male Issue, if he
 should have any; and if not, by Virtue of
 the Matrimony aforesaid, shall grant the
 same to *Claude* and *Charles*; and, in case
Charles should die before Consummation
 of the Marriage, the Investiture shall be
 bestowed on *Claude* and the second Son
 of the Archduke, if she should be married
 to him: That between the Pontiff,
 the King of the *Romans*, the King of
France, and the Archduke, there shall be
 a Confederacy for their mutual Defence,
 and

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and for acting offensively against the *Venetians*, for recovery of the Places seized by them : That *Cæsar* shall pass into *Italy* in Person against the *Venetians*, and shall afterwards be at liberty to proceed to *Rome*, to receive the Imperial Crown : That the King of *France* shall pay for the Investiture, as soon as the Patent is expedited, Sixty Thousand *Rhenish* Florins, and Sixty Thousand more within Six Months, and as a Tribute, each Feast of the Nativity of our Lord, a Pair of Golden Spurs : That the Sovereigns of *Spain* shall have Four Months allowed them to accede to this Treaty ; but it was declared that, if they did not, the King of *France* should be at liberty to attack the Kingdom of *Naples* : That the King of *France* should no longer assist the Count Palatine, who excited by *Lewis*, and relying on his Assistance, was engaged in a troublesome War with the King of the *Romans*. The *Venetians* were excluded from this League, tho' the King had always granted their Ambassadors very favourable Audiences; and the Cardinal of *Rouen*, to free them from Suspensions, had continued to give them Assu-

A. D.
1504.

Y 3

rances,

A. D. 1504. rances, by many strong Affeuerations and Oaths, that the King would never contravene the Confederacy that subsisted between them.

THESE were the Points contained in the written Deed, and stipulated between the Parties; but besides these they treated also of an Interview between *Cæsar* and the King, in a Place to be appointed at another time, the King promising then to release from his Confinement *Lodovico Sforza*, and allow him an honourable Maintenance in his Court. And, indeed, *Cæsar* was ashamed not to provide for the Wellbeing of a Prince, who, he well remembered, by trusting to his Promises, and vainly reposing his Confidence in his Friendship, had accelerated his own Ruin. On that Consideration, when the Cardinal of *Rouen* went to wait upon him at *Trent*, he had procured, by means of his Eminence, that the Duke's Confinement should be made much easier to him than it had been at first; and now he made Instances for his Enlargement, and that he might have Liberty to remain in the royal

royal Court, or in what Part of the Kingdom his Majesty pleased. The King promised also, at *Cæsar's* Request, to restore the Exiles of the Dutchy of *Milan*, on which Point there had been many Difficulties started in the Negotiation of *Trent*. These Stipulations being so advantageous to the Archduke and to *Maximilian*, it was believed that, in spite of the latter's Fickleness, the Treaty would take effect, especially as the Pope was comprehended in it: And the King of *France* was very well satisfied; not so much that his Thoughts were set upon new Enterprises, but from his Desire of obtaining the Investiture of *Milan*, and of securing himself from being molested by *Cæsar*, or by his Son.

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1504.

ABOUT this time died King *Federigo* *, Death of
being deprived of all Hopes of recovering *Federigo*
the Kingdom of *Naples* by Treaty, tho' King
he had at first deceived himself, as it is
natural for Men in his Situation, into a
Persuasion, that the King of *Spain* was
more inclined to his Restoration than the

Y 4

King

* At *Tours*, Sept. 9, 1504.

A. D. King of *France* ; not con

1504.

is a vain thing to expect, magnanimous Restitution Kingdom. Such Example always so rare, even in which were much more tuous and generous Action sent, that it could not be the least Show of Probab who had laid so many Sn the Half, should, now he l fession of the whole, volu himself of it. And indeed in his Negotiations he discovere both Sides, and was convinc more Reason to despair of from one who had a Kingdo than to imagine that he wh possession should consent to l

TOWARDS the End of

Death
and Cha-
racter of
Elisabetta
Queen of
Spain.

Elisabetta, Queen of Spain

most unblemished Character, and in the highest Reputation among her Subjects for Prudence and Magnanimity *. She was possessed,

* *Elisabetta, or Isabella, Queen of Spain, died Nov. 26 1504, very much regretted by the Great Captain, who was her Creature, and obliged to her for all his Greatness: Giovis.*

possessed, in her own Right, of the Kingdom of *Castile*, the greater and most potent Part of *Spain*, which devolved to her by Heirship after the Death of her Brother *Henrico*, tho' not without War and Bloodshed. For it had long been a current Report that *Henrico* was naturally impotent, and for that Reason *Beltramigia*, born of his Wife, and maintained by him many Years as his Daughter, could not be his Child. On this account *Elisabetta*, while *Henrico* lived, was acknowledged as Princess of *Castile*, that being the Title of the next in Succession to the Crown. However, at the Death of *Henrico*, many Lords of *Castile* took up Arms in favour of *Beltramigia*, and were assisted by the Forces of the King of *Portugal*, her Relation. Both Parties came at last to a Battle, the Success of which was on the justest Side, in favour of *Elisabetta*, whose Army was commanded by *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, her Husband, who was himself descended from the royal Family of *Castile*, and of Kin to *Elisabetta* in the third Degree of Consanguinity. *Ferdinando* afterwards, by the Death of his Father *Giovanni*,

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1504.

Isabel, succeeded to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, on which he and his Spouse assumed the Title of King and Queen of *Spain*; for the Kingdom of *Valenza*, and the County * of *Catalogna*, being united to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, they had under their Dominion the whole Country of *Spain*, which is bounded by the *Pirenean* Mountains, the Ocean, and the *Mediterranean* Sea. Under this Title were comprehended the Titles of several Kingdoms, because great Part of the Country had been formerly in the possession of several *Moorish* Princes, each of whom had assumed the Title of King; *Granada* however must be excepted, for that was then in the Possession of the *Moors*, and afterwards gloriously reduced by them under the Dominion of *Castile*; as must also the little Kingdom of *Portugal*, and that of *Navarra*, much less, both of which had their particular Kings. But the Kingdom of *Aragon*, with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other Isles belonging to them, being the Property of *Ferdinando*, were under his sole Government, without interposing the

* It is now called the Principality of *Catalogna*.

the Name or Authority of his Queen. *A. D.*
 But the Proceedings in *Castile* were *1504*
 different, because that Kingdom being
 hereditary to *Elisabetta*, and in Dowry to
Ferdinando, the Administration, as to
 Name, outward Show, and Effect, was
 exercised in common, nothing being
 executed but what was resolved, ordained,
 and signed by them both. The regal
 Title of *Spain* was in common, Am-
 bassadors were dispatched, Armies ap-
 pointed, and Wars managed by joint
 Authority, neither of them arrogating
 more Submission, or a greater Share in
 the Government of that Kingdom than
 the other.

By the Death of *Elisabetta* without
 male Issue, the Succession of *Castile*, by
 the Laws of that Kingdom, which have
 more Regard to Proximity than Sex, and
 exclude not Females, belonged to *Gio-
 vanna*, her Daughter by *Ferdinando*, and
 Wife of the Archduke; for an elder
 Daughter to them both, married to the
 King of *Portugal*, and a little Son born of
 her were long since deceased. *Ferdinando*,
 therefore,

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1504.

therefore, expecting no further Share in the Administration of Affairs in his dotal Kingdom, after the Expiration of his Matrimony, had nothing to do but to return to his little Kingdom of *Aragon*, little in comparison to the Kingdom of *Castile*, both in Extent and Revenues, and because the *Aragonian* Kings having not absolute Authority in all Matters, are, in many Cases, subjected to the Laws and Customs of that Country, which greatly limit the Power of Kings.

As *Elisabetta* drew near her End, she appointed by her last Will *Ferdinando* Governor of *Castile* during Life; being willing that as she had always lived with him in perfect Harmony, he should preserve his pristine Greatness; or, as it was said, because she was sensible that it was more expedient for her People to continue under the prudent Government of *Ferdinando*, which would prove of no less Service to her Daughter and Son-in-law. For when they should come at last to take the Government upon themselves, after *Ferdinando's* Decease, they would find

of no small Advantage, that till ^{A. D.}
 as *Philip*, who was born and ^{1504.}
landers, where Affairs are managed
 different Manner, should come of
 e, and to a more perfect Know-
 the Laws, Customs, Nature and
 of the People of *Spain*, all these
 ns should be preserved for them
 pacific and well regulated Go-
 it, *Castile* and *Aragon*, by these
 maintaining themselves in a State
 on, like one and the same Body.
 ath of the Queen produced after-
 some new Events in *Spain*; but
 airs of *Italy*, as we shall observe,
 a more calm Situation, and dif-
 Peace.

THE Year 1505 proved as peaceable
 preceding; so that if you except ^{1505.}
 little Acts of Hostility that passed
 between the *Florentines* and the *Pisans*;
 which occasioned some Disturbances, there
 was a total Cessation of Arms, one Part ^{Italy at}
 of the Powers chusing Peace, and the ^{Peace.}
 other, tho' inclined to War, prevented
 by different Causes. As for the King of
Spain,

A. D.

1505.

Spain, (for so he continued to be stiled) his Thoughts were employed on the Changes occasioned by the Death of the Queen, and contented himself with preserving the Kingdom of *Naples* by virtue of the Truce. The King of *France* stood greatly perplexed, because *Cesar*, according to his natural inconstant Temper, had not yet ratified the Peace which had been concluded: And the Pope, tho' desirous of Innovations, neither durst nor could exert himself, unless in conjunction with other powerful Princes. The *Venetians* thought themselves highly favoured, that when such mighty Matters were in Agitation against them, and the Pope so greatly disaffected towards them, they should escape being molested. In order to soften the Spirit of his Holiness, they had some Months before offered to leave him *Rimini*, with all the other Territory they had taken possession of, since the Death of Pope *Alexander*, in *Romagna*; provided he would consent that they should keep *Faenza*, with its Territory. They were the more induced to make this Offer from the Fear they had of the King

Affairs
between
the Pope
and *Vene-*
tians.

King of *France*, and because *Cæsar*, at the Sollicitation of *Julius*, had sent an Ambassador to *Venice*, to exhort them to restore the Lands of the Church. But the Pope, agreeably to the Constancy of his Mind, and his Manner of expressing his Thoughts, made answer, that he would not consent that they should keep one, tho' never so small a Fort, but that he hoped to recover, before his Death, *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, which Cities they possessed no less unjustly than *Faanza*.

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THE Matter was pushed no farther at that Time, but in the Beginning of this Year, the Fears of the *Venetians* increasing, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Urbino*, a Friend to both Parties, they offered to restore all they had seized in *Romagna*, except the Territories of *Faanza* and *Rimini*, if the Pope, who had hitherto refused to permit their Ambassadors to pay their Obedience, would now consent to admit them. To this Demand the Pope shewed some Reluctancy, it appearing to him as a Thing inconsistent with his Dignity, and disagreeing with
the

A. D. 1505. the heavy Complaints and Threatenings which he had used. Touched, however, with the Miseries of the People of *Furli*, *Imola*, and *Cesena*, who were deprived of the greater Part of their Territories, and endured great Hardships, and seeing there was no other Way to relieve them at hand, since the Affairs between *Cæsar* and the King of *France* proceeded to such a tedious Length, he at last consented to embrace what, with regard to its Effect, was Gain without Loss, since no Obligation was required, on his Part, either by Writing or Promise.

Venetians
send Am-
bassadors
to the
Pope.

THE *Venetians* then, after restoring to the Pope the Towns above-mentioned, deputed to his Holiness Eight Ambassadors of the principal Senators, who had been chosen for this Purpose ever since his Advancement to the Popedom; a greater Number than the Republic had ever sent before to a Pope who was not a *Venetian*. These Ambassadors were admitted to an Audience with the usual Ceremonies, but had not the Satisfaction to return to *Venice* with any Mark by which they could assure

assure themselves that the Pope was become of a more easy and gentle Disposition ^{A. D. 1505.} towards their Senate.

THE King of *France* at this time, being desirous to put the finishing Hand ^{Treaty of} to the Articles of the Treaty, deputed ^{Hague-} the Cardinal of *Rouen* to *Haguenau*, a ^{nan.} Town of *Lower Germany*, lately taken from the Count Palatine, where *Cæsar* and the Archduke expected him. At his Arrival the Articles of the Convention were published, and confirmed with a solemn Oath, and the Cardinal paid *Cæsar* one Moiety of the Sum stipulated for the Investiture, the other Moiety being promised him as soon as he had passed into *Italy*. But he gave broad Hints at that time, and soon after declared, that he could not pass into *Italy* that present Year, by reason of Business, which would detain him in *Germany*. Hence there was the more Reason to cast off all Apprehensions of a War, for the King of *France* had no Inclination to attempt Innovations without the King of the *Romans*.

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*Floren-
tines and
Pisans at
War.*

THERE now remained nothing like a War in *Italy* but the inveterate and almost perpetual Contentions between the *Florentines* and *Pisans*, who proceeded in a long War, not determined to any fixed Enterprize, but on such as according to Opportunities offered themselves, sometimes on one Side, sometimes on the other. It happened that *Luca Savello*, and some other Leaders and Chiefs of the *Florentines*, marched out of *Cascina*, which Town the *Florentines* had made the Seat of the War, with Four Hundred Horse, and a good Number of Foot, to conduct some Provisions to *Librafatta*, and to seize on a Booty of Cattle belonging to the *Pisans*, that was on the yonder Side of the River *Serchio*, in the Territories of *Lucca*, not so much out of a Desire of Plunder, as to draw the *Pisans* to an Engagement, not doubting but since they had the Superiority in the open Field to break them. After they had lodged the Provisions in *Librafatta*, and made the Booty of Cattle, they returned slowly by the same Road, to give Time to the *Pis-
ans*

sans to come out and attack them. On Advice of the Prey that was made of their Cattle, the *Pisans* immediately dispatched from *Pisa Tarlatino*, their chief Captain; who took with him only Fifteen Men at Arms, Forty light Horse, and Sixty Foot, leaving Orders for the rest to follow; and having Advice that some of the Enemy's Horse had advanced as far as *St. Jacopo*, near *Pisa*, he marched towards them; but at his Approach they retreated to join the rest of their Troops, which were posted at the Bridge of *Cappellese*, on the River *Osole*, Three Miles from *Pisa*, and waited there for the Arrival of their Booty of Cattle, and for the Mules that had conveyed the Provisions, and were coming behind. This Party of *Florentine* Horse got safe to their Army on the other Side the Bridge, which the foremost Foot had possessed, and manned the Banks and Ditches. *Tarlatino* had followed the retreating *Florentines* to the Bridge, without observing that all the Enemy's Troops were assembled in that Place, and came so near that he could not make his Retreat without manifest Danger. He resolved, therefore,

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to attack the Bridge, and encouraging his Men, told them that, tho' it was Necessity that forced them to encounter, they had great reason to hope for Victory, for in a narrow Place, where few could come to fight, they could not be overpowered by Numbers; that if they could not force the Bridge, they might easily defend themselves, till the *Pisans*, to whom he had sent for Assistance, could have Time to succour them: But if they could force their Passage over the Bridge, the Victory would be very easy; for the Road beyond the River, between the Bridge and the Hill, being but narrow, and encumbered by the Multitude of the Enemy, their Mules and Prey, they would quickly fall into Disorder of themselves, and be so entangled as neither to be able to fight nor fly. His Success justified what he had said: For furiously putting Spurs to his Horse, he was the first that assaulted the Bridge, but was forced to retire; a second met with the same Fortune; and after him a third, whose Horse was wounded, but *Tarlatino* returning to his Assistance, with great

great Impetuosity, by the Force of his Arms, and the high Mettle of his Horse, made his Way over the Bridge, the Foot that defended it giving Ground. Four others of his Cavalry forced their Passage, and while they were all engaged with the Enemy's Foot in a narrow Meadow, some of the *Pisan* Foot waded the River up to their Chins, and the Horse at the same time passing the Bridge, which was now abandoned, without Obstacle, and joining their other Forces, which came out of *Pisa* in a scattered and disorderly Manner, they all together pressed upon the *Florentines*, and reduced them into a strait Place, where they fell into Confusion among themselves, and into a cowardly Abjectness of Spirit, more conspicuous among the Men at Arms, than the Foot, and having no Leader of Authority to stop them, or restore their Order, betook themselves to open Flight. Thus the *Florentines*, tho' a Body of Troops much superior in Force, and marching in Order of Battle, were broken and routed by an inconsiderable Number, coming in loose and disbanded Order,

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Florentines routed by the Pisans.

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and with an Intent rather to make a Show of themselves, than with a Disposition to fight. Several Officers of Foot, and Persons of Note among the *Florentines*, were killed, wounded, or taken Prisoners, and most of those that escaped fell into the Hands of the Peasants of *Lucca*, and were disarmed and plundered.

THE Affairs of the *Florentines* in the Country of *Pisa* were put in great Disorder by this Defeat, for as they had but a few Men left in *Cascina*, they could not, for many Days, prevent the *Pisans*, puffed up with their Victory, from making Excursions, and plundering all over the Country. And, what was of greater Importance, this Misfortune put *Pandolfo Petrucci* in hopes that it might be easy to prevent the *Florentines* this Summer from laying waste the Country of the *Pisans*, who struggling with their usual Difficulties, had been assisted, tho' very sparingly, by the *Genoese* and *Lucchese*, and the *Senese* were more liberal of their Counsel than of their Money or Provisions.

Where-

Wherefore *Pandolfo*, intent on doing them some Service, procured that *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, in whom the *Florentines*, because they were the principal Authors of his Return to *Perugia*, reposed much Confidence during his Conduct, should refuse to continue in their Service. The Reason

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*Gian Pa-
gola Ba-
glione
leaves the
Floren-
tines.*

he gave was, that *Marco Antonio* and *Mutio Celonna*, and *Luca* and *Giacopo Savelli* being in the same Pay, and having together a greater Number of Soldiers than he himself, he stood in Danger from their being of a different Faction. But that they might have but a short Time to provide themselves, he delayed as much as possible to discover his farther Designs; and that he might gain the more Credit to his Excuse, he promised the *Florentines* never to take up Arms against them; and to render them the more secure, he left with them, as a Hostage, in their Pay, his Son *Malatesta*, a Youth of a very tender Age, with Fifteen Men at Arms. As for himself, because he would not remain altogether without Command, he entered himself, with Seventy Men at Arms, into the Service of the *Senese*, who being unable

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to support an additional Expence, the *Lucchese*, to whom these Measures had been participated, took into their Service *Troilo Savello*, who was in the Pay of the *Senese*.

By this sudden and unexpected Departure of *Gian Pagolo*, and the Loss received at the Bridge of *Cappellese*, the *Florentines* having but a few Troops left, refrained from laying waste the *Pisan* Territory this Year; they were even necessitated to think of providing Remedies against greater Dangers. For *Pandolfo* and *Gian Pagolo*, their old Antipathy reviving, treated privately with the Cardinal *de' Medici* for disturbing the *Florentine* State, placing their chief Dependance on *Bartolomeo Alviano*. That Commander, who had fallen out with the Great Captain, was arrived in the Territory of *Rome*, and with various Hopes and Promises, had assembled about him a good Number of Soldiers. It was suspected that these Consultations were communicated to Cardinal *Ascanio*, and that a Design was formed, if Things succeeded happily in
Tuscany,

Tuscany, to employ the united Forces of ^{A. D.} the *Florentines*, and others who were wil- ^{1505.}ling to be Associates in the Undertaking, for attacking the Dutchy of *Milan*. And it was expected that a Revolution would be easily consequent upon an Invasion, since there were but a small Number of *French* Men at Arms in that Territory, very many of the Nobility were abroad, the People addicted to the Name of the *Sforzas*, and besides, the King of *France* had been seized with a dangerous Disorder, which reduced him to such Extremities, ^{King of France} that for many Hours he was given over; ^{dangerously ill.} and tho' afterwards he recovered from lying at the Point of Death, he was in so bad a Condition, that there were but small Hopes of his Life*. Some of deeper Penetration in Politics have imagined, that *Ascanio*, who at that Time was very frequently visited by the *Venetian* Ambassador in *Rome*, held private Correspondence not only with the Great Captain, but also with the *Venetians*, who were more ready, and

* He was seized with a Disorder of the Breast, which lasted Twenty Days with very terrible Symptoms, but the seventh Day was the most dangerous.

A. D. and had more Reason to declare against
 1505. the *French*, than in Times past, because
 the King of *France* had entertained new
 Jealousies and Distrust of the King of the
Romans, and his Son; and considering the
 future Greatness of the Archduke after
 the Death of the Queen of *Spain*, had
 openly fallen off from them, and assisted
 the Duke of *Guelder*, the bitter Enemy
 of the Archduke, and was moreover in-
 clined to enter into a particular Correspondence
 with the King of *Spain*.

BUT as the Thoughts of Men are fal-
 lacious, and their Hopes frail, while
 these Things were in Agitation, the King
 of *France*, whose Life was almost de-
 spaired of, grew better every Day, and
Ascanio died suddenly of the Pestilence
 in *Rome* *. By his Death the State of
Milan was freed from Apprehensions,
 but the Project for disturbing the Peace
 of the *Florentines* was not wholly laid
 aside.

* He died of the Plague in *Rome*, May 20, 1505.
Buonac. Giovio says, he died of Poison; but *Bambo*, con-
 trary to all other Writers, tells us that both he and his
 Brother *Lodowico* died miserably in Prison in *France*.

aside. With this Design there met together at *Piegai*, a Castle between the Borders of *Perugia* and *Siena*, *Pandolfo Petrucci*, *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and *Bar-
tolomeo Alviano*, not with a Prospect of restoring the *Medici* to *Florence* by Force of Arms, but to contrive that *Alviano* should enter *Pisa* with the Consent of the Citizens, and, under Shelter of that City, harass the Borders of the *Florentines*, with an Intent to proceed farther, if an Opportunity offered.

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Designs
against
the Flo-
rentines.

WHEN these Designs began to come to Light, the *Florentines* stood much in Doubt of the Disposition of the Great Captain; for they knew that the Term for which *Alviano* was engaged in the *Spanish* Service did not expire till *November* next, and it was not probable that *Pandolfo Petrucci* would attempt Innovations without his Consent; for he never could be induced to pay the King of *France* the Money he had promised him, but had frequently over-reached him by various Arts, and entirely depended on the King of *Spain*. The Jealousies of the *Florentines* were

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were still increased, by observing that the Lord of *Piombino*, who was under the Protection of the King of *Spain*, standing in Fear of being attacked by the *Genoese*, *Gonsalvo*, for his Security, had sent him *Nugno del Campo*, with a Thousand *Spanish* Foot, besides a Squadron of three Ships of War, two Gallies, and other Vessels, which entered the Canal of *Piombino*; and these Forces being conducted into a Place so near the Borders of the *Florentines*, gave them Cause to fear that they were designed to join *Alviano*, which, as he affirmed, had been promised him. But the Truth was, that the King of *Spain*, after the Truce made with the King of *France*, in order to diminish his Expences, had directed, among the rest of the Reductions made in the Regiments of others, that of *Alviano* to be reduced to an Hundred Lances. This Officer, fired with Indignation, not only refused to continue in his Command, but asserted that he was free from the Service, because his Arrears were not paid him, and because the Great Captain had refused to fulfil the Promise which he had made him, after the Victory

Alviano
why left
the *Spanish*
Service.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

365.

Victory of *Naples*, to give him the Command of Two Thousand Foot, to be employed, in favour of the *Medici*, against the *Florentines*; besides, *Alviano* was naturally of an enterprising Temper, desirous of Change, and impatient of Rest.

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THE *Florentines*, in order to defend themselves from this Attack, had recourse to the King of *France*, who was obliged, by the Articles of his Protection, to assist them with Four Hundred Lances for their Defence, and solicited him now for Two Hundred of them on this Occasion. But that King, who was ever more influenced by a covetous Desire after Money, than by Prayers, or Compassion towards his old Allies, answered, that he would lend them no Succours before they had laid down the Thirty Thousand Ducats, which they were bound to pay for his Protection. And tho' the *Florentines* pleaded in excuse, that they were burthened with infinite Expences necessary for their Defence, and supplicated for some Delay, he obstinately persisted in the same Resolution; so that they found more Relief from one whom they

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they had distressed and injured, than from him in whom they confided, and whom they had obliged. For the Great Captain being desirous that the Peace of *Italy* should not be disturbed, or the Negotiations of Peace, newly resumed between the two Kings, interrupted; or else that, taking occasion from the Death of the Queen, and the Seeds of Discord which thereupon would arise between the Father and Son-in-Law, he had entertained Thoughts of appropriating the Kingdom of *Naples* to himself; not only endeavoured by all Means to induce *Alviano* (who on receiving the Pope's Commands either to disband his Troops, or leave the Dominions of the Church, was retired to *Pitigliano*) to resume his Command in his Master's Army, but charged him, as a Vassal and Soldier of his King, to proceed no farther, under Pain of Deprivation of his Estate in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was computed to produce him yearly Seven Thousand Ducats. He signified also to the *Pisans*, who had been not long before privately received into his Master's Protection, and to the Lord of *Piombino*,

Gonsalvo
assists the
Florentines.

Piombino, that they should not receive him. A. D.

And he offered the *Florentines* the Use of 1505.
his Infantry that was in *Piombino*, for their
Defence, to be under the Command of
Marco Antonio Colonna, their General.
He admonished also *Pandolfo Petrucci*
not to support *Alviano*, and prohibited
Lodovico, Son of Count *Pitigliano*, *Fran-*
cesco Orsino, and *Giovanni di Ceri*, who
served under him, to follow him. *Alvi-*
ano, however, attended by *Gian Luigi*
Vitello, and *Gian Currado Orsino*, with
Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Five
Hundred Foot, Voluntiers, marched for-
wards, tho' but slowly, the *Senese* fur-
nishing them with Provisions, till they
came to the Marshes of *Siena*; they then
entered into the Plain of *Scarolino*, a Town
in the Jurisdiction of *Piombino*, a small
Day's Journey from the Borders of the
Florentines. Here *Alviano* was overtaken
by a Messenger from the Great Captain,
with fresh Orders not to go to *Pisa*, and
not to molest the *Florentines*. He answer-
ed that he was a free Man, and at his
own Disposal, since the Great Captain had
not fulfilled the Promises which he had
made

A. D. made him. After this he took up his

1505.

Quarters near *Campiglia*, a Town of the *Florentines*, where began some light skirmishing between his Men and the *Florentine* Troops, who were assembling at *Bibbona*. Hence he proceeded, and came before *Cornia*, between the Borders of the *Florentines* and *Sughereto*; but much disappointed of his Hopes and Designs, and uncertain how to take his Measures, greater Difficulties presenting every Hour. For he could no longer be supplied with Provisions from *Piombino*, and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and the *Vitelli* had not sent him the Foot in pursuance of the Plan concerted between them, being willing to accommodate their Resolutions to the Events of Things; *Pandolfo Petrucci* also seemed now not so forward to countenance his Underling as he was at first; nor was he sure that the *Pisans* would run the Risk of disobeying the Great Captain, by receiving him. For these Reasons, and because there was a continual treating about his resuming his Post in the Army, to which he inclined, since he no longer refused to

con-

content himself with the Command of the Hundred Lances, he retired to *Vignale*, a Town of the Lord of *Piombino*, spreading a Report that he tarried there in Expectation of a final Determination of his Affairs from *Naples*. But in the mean time having obtained of the *Pisans* their Consent to receive him into *Pisa*, he left *Vignale*, where he had taken up his Quarters for Ten Days, and on the 17th of *August* appeared with his Troops drawn up in order of Battle at *Caldane*, a Mile below *Campiglia*, with a Design to engage the *Florentines*, who had marched and encamped there the Day before; but happening to receive Intelligence of his march from some Spies who came from the Camp of *Alviano*, they formed some Conjectures of his Motions, and retired the same Night under the Walls of *Campiglia*, where *Alviano* finding he could not attack them without great Disadvantage, he pursued his Journey to *Pisa*, taking the Rout by the Tower of *San Vincenzo*, Five Miles from *Campiglia*.

ON the other Side, the *Florentine* Ge-
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1505.

neral *Ercole Bentivoglio*, being perfectly acquainted with the Country, and desiring nothing more than to come to an Engagement in a Place where he might take the Advantage of the Ground, directed his March by the Road that leads from *Campiglia* to the same Tower of *San Vincenzo*, dividing the light Horse into two Parties, one of which followed the Army of *Alviano*, continually harassing and molesting his Rear; the other rode forwards to take the Enemy in Front, advancing the same Way as the Army, which marched after them. This Body of Horse arrived at the Tower before *Alviano's* Army, and engaging with his advanced Troops, were with no great Difficulty repulsed, and retired to the main Army, which was half a Mile behind, and informed the General, that the greatest Part of the Enemy had already passed the Tower. *Ercole* then marching slowly, came up with the Enemy's Rear at the Ruins of *San Vincenzo*, where their Men at Arms, and their Infantry, had made head; and taking Advantage of the Plain and open Passage, he advanced and charged them vigorously in Flank, with one Part

Part of his Army, and, after fighting for some Time, made them give Way. A. D. 1505.

Their Foot was broken at the first Charge, and pushed as far as the Sea, without ever rallying ; but the Horse, which had retired but a Bow-shot, passing the Ditch of *San Vincenzo*, towards *Bibbona*, turned head, and in close Order charged the *Florentines* with irresistible Fury, and repulsed them to the Ditch. *Ercole* then advanced with the rest of the Troops, and summoning thither from all Quarters the whole Strength of his Army, the Fight was obstinate for a great while, the Victory inclining to neither Side. *Alviano*, who had performed the Office of a Soldier as well as of a General, using his utmost Efforts to force the Enemy from that Pass, which would have secured him the Victory, received two Stabs in the Face with a Dagger. But *Ercole*, who had several Days before given Assurances, that if the Battle was fought on that Spot, it should be his Care to obtain a Victory without Danger, caused Six Field Pieces, which he had brought with him, to be planted on the Side of the Ditch of the

A 2 2 Tower.

A. D.

1505.

Tower. As soon as these began to play, *Ercole* perceived, that by their Execution the Enemy began to open, and fall into Disorder; and embracing the Opportunity, on which he had always warranted the Victory, he charged them with great Vigour at several Quarters, with his whole Army; that is to say, with his light Horse by the Way that leads to the Sea, with his Men at Arms by the high Road, and with his Foot on the upper Part by the Wood; by which Means they were easily broken, and put to flight. *Alviano* with a very few Men well mounted, not without Difficulty, saved themselves, and fled to *Monte Rotondo*, in the Territory of *Siena*. The rest of his Army were almost all taken between the Tower of *San Vincenzo*, and the River *Cecina*, and stripped; all the Colours were taken, and very few of the Horse escaped*. Such was the End of *Bartolomeo Alviano's* Undertaking, which had kept the Minds of People in Suspense of its Event, more by the long Time

* Above a Thousand Horses were taken, which had been furnished *Alviano* by *Bentivoglio*, besides a great Number of Carriages. *Bueno*.

Time spent in his Preparations, and the fierce and threatening Speeches he threw out from Time to Time, than by the Number of Forces, or any other solid Foundation for such an Enterprize.

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ENCOURAGED by this Victory, *Ercole Bentivoglio*, and *Antonio Giacomini*, the *Florentine* Commissary, did all that was possible to persuade the *Florentines* by pressing Letters, and frequent Expresses, to give Orders for leading the conquering Army before the Walls of *Pisa*, and were at the same Time making with all possible Speed the necessary Preparations for the Siege. And they trusted it would prove no very difficult Undertaking, since the *Pisans* laboured under many Hardships, and had lost all Hopes of *Alexander's* coming; and as one is apt to think that the Reputation of a Victory carries all before it, they believed they might without much Opposition become Masters of the Place, their Hopes also being much heightened by some private Correspondence which they held with some Persons in the City. But in *Florence* the Magistracy

Siege of
Pisa pro-
posed.

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1505Proposal
rejected.Reasons
against
the Siege.

of Ten, which superintends in all Matters relating to War, having called a Council of those Citizens, who are usually consulted in Cases of Importance, and asked their Advice with relation to the Point, the Proposal of the Siege was unanimously condemned. They said there was no Reason to doubt but the *Pisans* continued in their Obstinacy, and that, after so many Years Experience in War, it was a vain Thing to imagine they could be conquered by the Name and Reputation of a Victory, obtained over others, by which their own Force was not at all diminished, That therefore they ought to continue in a regular Manner to subdue them by plain Force, which was the only Way that war-like Men are to be overcome, and even this Way appeared to be attended with many Difficulties, For the City of *Pisa* was surrounded with as strong Walls as any City in *Italy*, the Fortifications were in good Repair, and the Defendants valiant and obstinate; that there was no Hopes of taking it by Force, but with a great Army, and Soldiers not inferior in Valour and Resolution to the Besieged. And even these

these would not be sufficient to take the Place by Storm, or after a short Siege; but there would be a Necessity of lying many Days before it, and making regular Approaches with Security, taking all Advantages; and in a Manner tiring out the Besieged, rather than forcing them. The Season of the Year was by no means favourable to such an Enterprize: For none but raw and new-levied Infantry could be speedily got together, nor can an Army approach the Place with an Intent to lie long before it, because of the Unwholesomeness of the Air, corrupted by the Winds that blow from the Sea, which become infected by the pestilential Vapours of the Pools and Marshes, and are most pernicious to an Army, as was experienced in the unhappy Campaign of *Pagolo Vitelli*. Besides, the Country of *Pisa*, even in *September*; begins to be subject to Rains, by which, on account of its low Situation, it is overflowed in such a Manner, that during the Season it is difficult for an Army to maintain itself in its Quarters about that City. Nor, considering the universal Obstinacy of the Inhabitants,

A. D. tants, can any Stress be laid on a Plot, or

1505.

private Correspondence; for either they will give false Intelligence, or the Persons employed in the Management will have no Power to perform what they shall promise. To this it may be added, that tho' the Public stood under no Engagement to the Great Captain, yet *Prospero Colonna* had, of his own Motion indeed, but in a manner with their tacit Consent, taken upon him to signify to *Gonsalvo* that it was their Intention to bring no Cannon before the Walls of *Pisa* this Year. And therefore they might assure themselves, that *Gonsalvo*, moved by Anger on this Account, and by his often repeated Promises to the *Pisans*, and moreover, because this Success of the *Florentines* might be prejudicial to his Affairs, would oppose the Undertaking. And it was an easy Matter for him to hinder it, since he could in a few Hours introduce into *Pisa* the *Spanish* Infantry that lay in *Piombino*, as he had often protested he would do, if the Siege of *Pisa* was attempted. That it was much better to improve their Victory by employ

employing their Arms on another Exploit, where, tho' the Profits were less, A. D. 1505.
the Facility of Success was incomparably greater, and at the same time not destitute of signal Advantage. No Person had been so much their Adversary, and constantly opposed their Designs; none had more obstructed their Recovery of *Pisa*, none had been more concerned in Measures for altering their present Government, than *Pandolfo Petrucci*. He it was that incited *Pandolfo Valentino* to enter with an armed Force in *Petrucchi*, to the *Florentine* Dominions; it was he an inveterate Enemy to the Florentines. that had been the principal Author and Director of the Invasion of *Vitellozzo*, and of the Rebellion of *Arezzo*; it was by means of his Advice and Counsel, that the States of *Siena*, *Genoa*, and *Lucca*, agreed together to support the *Pisans*; it was by his Persuasion that *Gonsalvo* undertook the Protection of *Piombino*, and intermeddled in the Affairs of *Tuscany*; and who else had been a Promoter and Favourer of this Commotion of *Alviano*? That their Army ought therefore to be conducted against him, and the whole Territory of *Siena*, which they might over-

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over-run and ravage without any Resistance: That the Reputation of their Arms might perhaps occasion an Insurrection against *Pandolfo* in the City of *Siena*, where he had many Enemies, at least it might furnish the Republic with an Opportunity for getting Possession of some important Castle, which they might keep in their Hands by way of Exchange, or as a Pledge, till *Montepulciano* was restored to them. That shewing a just Resentment, might possibly prevail on *Petrucchi*, tho' Kindness had had no Effect, and render him more circumspect for the future, and cautious of giving them Offence: That after this they ought in the same manner to over-run the Country of the *Lucchese*, whom hitherto, to their own Damage, they had treated with too much Respect. By these means they might hope to derive from their Victory both Honour and Profit, but from the Siege of *Pisa* nothing could be expected but Expence and Dishonour.

THESE Reasons, unanimously alledged by the Council, had no Effect in restraining the violent Desire of the People, who

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are oftener governed by Will than by Reason *, to have *Pisa* besieged; for they were not yet got rid of an inveterate Opinion, that many of the principal Citizens, for ambitious Ends, would not be pleased with the Recovery of *Pisa*. *Piero Soderini*, the Gonfalonier, who espoused the same Opinion with no less Heat than the rest, called a grand Council of the People, to whom Resolutions of this Nature are not usually referred, and demanding of them whether it was their Will and Pleasure to have *Pisa* besieged, they answered almost with one Voice in the Affirmative; Prudence being thus overcome by Rashness, the Authority of the better Part was necessitated to give Way to the Will of the Majority. The Preparations therefore for the Siege were made with incredible Speed, as well with an Intent of preventing all Succours from the Great Captain, as for avoiding the Danger of the rainy Season. They made such Haste, that on the 6th of September they sat down before the Walls of *Pisa* with

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1505.

Siege of
Pisa.

* *Cicero* in his Oration for *Roscius* says, that the common People judge few Things with Truth, but many Things by Opinion.

A. D.

1505

with an Army of Six Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Thousand Foot, and Sixteen Pieces of battering Cannon, besides other Artillery, and pitched their Camp between *Santa Croce* and *San Michele*, in the same Place where the *French* had formerly encamped. And having in the Night following expeditiously planted their Cannon, they began the next Day to batter with great Fury the Wall from the Gate of *Calti* to the Turret of *San Francesco*, where the Walls form a reentrant Angle, and having from Sun-rise, when they began to fire, to the Twenty-first Hour *, made a Breach of above Thirty Braces, they had a hot Skirmish with the Besieged over the Ruins of the Wall, but of little Signification, because the Breach was not of a sufficient Breadth for entering a Town where the Men presented themselves on the Breach with their usual Courage and Bravery. The next Morning, therefore, to make more Openings, they began

* Three o' Clock in the Afternoon; the *Italian* Manner of counting the Hours is from One to Twenty-four, and the Twenty-fourth Hour is Half an Hour after Sunset; and to keep to this Regulation they alter the Clocks as the Sun alters its Course.

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began another Battery in a Place not far distant, that Part of the Wall which had formerly been battered by the *French* remaining: in the Middle between the two Batteries. When they had made what they thought a sufficient Breach; *Ercole* endeavoured to animate his Infantry, which was drawn up in Order of Battle, to make a vigorous Attack on both Parts of the ruined Wall at once, where the *Pisans* had been labouring, according to Custom, the Women working with no less Spirit than the Men, while the Batteries were playing, to raise up a Rampart with a Ditch before it. But the *Italian* Infantry, who were raw Soldiers, levied in haste, wanted Spirits and Bravery to carry them on such desperate Work. For the Regiment * of Foot who, after casting Lots, was appointed to give the first Assault, refused, out of Cowardice, to approach the Walls; and neither the

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* Three Regiments of Foot, each consisting of One Thousand Men, were employed in giving the Assault, but the other three were not put on Action, that they might not lose their Reputation, since the first had come off so badly. *Bonac.* The same Author says, however, that the first Assault was given, but that the Men behaved much worse in the second Attack than at the first.

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 nor of the *Florentine* Commissary, nor a
 Regard to their own Honour, and the
 Honour of the *Italian* Military in general,
 could induce them to march for-
 wards. Their Example being followed
 by the other Regiments, which were ap-
 pointed to support them in the Attack,
 they retired to their Quarters, having
 effected nothing, but brought a Disgrace
 on the *Italian* Infantry, and rendered it
 contemptible in the Eyes of all *Europe*,
 quite marred the Victory obtained over
Alviano, and destroyed the Reputation of
 the General and Commissary, which would
 have run very high among the *Florentines*
 if they had been contented with the Glory
 which they had acquired, and known
 how to use their Good-fortune with Mo-
 deration. After they had retired to their
 Quarters, it was no longer a Question,
 whether they should resolve to raise the
 Siege, especially since on the same Day
 there entered into *Pisa*, by Order of the
 Great Captain, Six Hundred *Spanish* Foot
 which were in *Piombino*. The next Day,
 therefore, the *Florentine* Army retired to
Cascina

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Casina with remarkable Disgrace, and a few Days after. entered *Pisa*. Fifteen Hundred *Spanish* Infantry more, who, finding their Assistance was not necessary, after they had, at the Sollicitations of the *Pisans*, made a fruitless Attack on *Bientina*, prosecuted their intended Voyage by Sea to *Spain*, whither they were ordered by the Great Captain, because a Peace was concluded between the King of *France* and *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*.

A. D.
1505.

Siege
raised.

ALL the Difficulties which had before obstructed a Reconciliation between the two Kings, as those which related to the Honour of the King of *France*, and his Fear of alienating the Affections of the Archduke, were soon removed, and Means easily found for an Accommodation, by the Death of the Queen of *Spain*. For the King of *France*, who could not endure the exorbitant Grandeur of the Archduke, was desirous to defeat his Projects. And the King of *Spain* being informed that the Archduke, despising the Will of his Mother-in-law, had formed a Design to remove him from the Kingdom

D. A.
1505.

dom of *Castile*, was necessitated to establish himself by new Affinities. For this End he entered into Articles of Matrimony with Madame *Germaine de Foix*, Daughter of a Sister of the King of *France*, on condition that the King should give with her in Dowry that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* which belonged to his Share, the King of *Spain* obliging himself to pay him, in the Space of Ten Years, Seven Hundred Thousand Ducats, by way of indemnifying for Costs, and to make a Settlement of Three Hundred Thousand Ducats on his new Spouse *. In consideration of this Marriage, attended with a Peace, it was agreed that the *Arjouin* Barons, with all those who followed the *French* Party, should be restored gratis to their Liberty, Country, Estates, Effects, and Honours, in the State in which they enjoyed them on the Day when the War first broke out between the *French* and *Spaniards*, which is declared to be the Day that the *French* made an Incurfion to *Tripalda*. All the Confiscations

* This Peace and Affinity between the two Kings were concluded at *Blois* in *October* 1505.

fiscations made by the King of *Spain*, and by King *Federigo*, were by this Agreement declared void and null: That the Prince of *Rossano*, the Marquisses of *Bizonto* and *Gesualdo*, *Alfonso* and *Honorato Sanseverini*, and all the other Barons that were Prisoners to the *Spaniards* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, should be set at liberty: That the King of *France* shall renounce the Title of King of *Jerusalem* and of *Naples*: That the Homages and Recognitions of the Barons shall be performed with respect to the abovementioned Articles of Agreement, and in the same manner shall the Investiture be solicited from the Pope. If Queen *Germaine* should die in Wedlock without Issue, her Dowry should remain to *Ferdinando*; but if she survived him, it was then to revert to the Crown of *France*. *Ferdinando* shall be obliged to assist *Gaston* Count *de Foix*, Brother to his new Spouse, in the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Navarra*, to which he laid claim, as having been possessed, with a regal Title, by *Catherine de Foix*, and by *John d' Albret* her Husband. That the King of *France*

A. D. 1505. shall oblige the Widow of King *Federigo* and her two Sons, who resided in his Court, to depart for *Spain*, where they shall be assigned an honourable Maintenance: That if the Queen refused to go, she shall be dismissed from the Kingdom of *France*, and no further Provision or Entertainment be allowed her nor her Children. Either of the contracting Parties was prohibited by these Presents from acting against those whom the other should nominate; and they both jointly named in *Italy* the Pope, and the King of *France* in particular the *Florentines*. And for Corroboration of the Peace, it was declared, that there should be a perpetual Confederacy between the two Kings for the Defence of their States, for which Purpose the King of *France* should be obliged to furnish One Thousand Lances and Six Thousand Foot; and *Ferdinando* Three Hundred Lances, Two Thousand Gennets, and Six Thousand Foot.

AFTER this Peace, of which the King
of

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of *England* was Guarantee*, the *An-join* Barons, who were in *France*, were dismissed by the King, who, agreeably to his tenacious Temper, treated them at Parting with few Marks of Gratitude. Almost all of them attended Queen *Germaine* into *Spain*, and *Isabella*, who had been Wife to *Federigo*, being dismissed by the King of *France*, and obliged to leave the Kingdom, because she refused to entrust her Children in the Hands of the Catholic King, retired to *Ferrara*. In this City *Ercole d'Este* was deceased a little before, and was succeeded in the Dukedom by his Son *Alfonso*. And towards the End of this Year was committed in the same Town a tragical Fact resembling those of the antient *Thebans*, but on a more slight Occasion, if the unbridled Fury of Love be indeed a slighter Motive than the ardent Ambition of Empire. Cardinal *Ippolito d'Este* was enamoured of a young Lady, his Kinswoman, who

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* In the Original literally of which the King of England promised Observation for one Party as well as the other; which Words explain the Nature of a Guaranty.